

FINAL REPORT

of the

DELEGATES OF INDIA

to the

ELEVENTH (ORDINARY) SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY

of the

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(1930).

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FINAL REPORT OF THE DELEGATES OF INDIA TO THE ELEVENTH (ORDINARY) SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS (1930).

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE W. WEDGWOOD BENN, D.S.O., D.F.C., M.P.,
HIS MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

Sir,

We beg to submit our Interim Report on the Eleventh (Ordinary) Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations, held at Geneva from the 10th September to 4th October, at which we had the honour to represent India.

2. This Report consists of a general survey of the main subjects dealt with during the Assembly and a description in greater detail of the subjects with which we ourselves were principally concerned and of our own activities. We shall follow the example of our predecessors by presenting at a later date a Final Report, which will cover completely the ground of the work of the Assembly this year and contain the text of the resolutions adopted by the Assembly, the texts of some of the more important reports and of the principal speeches made by members of the Delegation and other matter required for record.

Preliminary Remarks.

3. Numerically the Indian Delegation was the same as for some years past, consisting of three full and three substitute delegates. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner had been a delegate at the Assembly of 1924 and Sir Ewart Greaves at that of 1929. Sir Ewart Greaves was obliged to return to England after 10 days, and his place was taken by Sir Basanta Mullick, who had twice previously attended meetings of the Assembly. The rest of us had had no previous experience of meetings of the League of Nations.

Opening of the Eleventh Session.

4. The proceedings of the Assembly were opened on the 10th September by His Excellency M. Zumeta, First Delegate for Venezuela, acting as President of the Council. Fifty-two out of fifty-four States Members were represented in the Assembly, the absentees being the Argentine Republic and Honduras. His Excellency M. Titulesco, Delegate for Roumania and Roumanian Minister in London, was elected President of the Eleventh Assembly, and proved himself one of the best who had held office. The election of Vice-Presidents and the General and Agenda Committees proceeded in accordance with the usual routine.

The General Debate.

5. The year had been one of great activity on the part of the organs of the League, but there was no signal achievement to be placed to its credit; in fact, several important Conferences had had results which were either negative or disappointing. Notable, if partial, success had, it is true, attended the London Naval Conference, which was held outside the sphere of the League, but it had not been possible to hold a further meeting of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. The political situation in Europe was certainly no better than in 1929, and the prospects of an improvement were diminished by the results of the German elections, which took place a few days after the opening of the Assembly. The representatives of nearly every country, particularly in Europe, were acutely conscious of the economic crisis. In these circumstances optimism would have been out of place. The serious character of the prevailing conditions caused the majority of the speakers to address themselves to the facts in a spirit of realism without excessive rhetoric.

M. Briand's Speech.

6. A subject which received much attention was the proposal for the creation of an organisation for the consideration of European co-operation. M. Briand had made it known at the Assembly of 1929 that he intended to prepare proposals of this nature. Since then he had issued a memorandum to the European Governments. Their observations on it had been considered by a Conference of European States immediately before the Assembly, and it had been decided that the proposed organisation should be created within the framework of the League. It was expounded at length, though hardly in detail, by M. Briand himself in the Assembly. Most of the speakers in the general debate referred to it; none questioned the need for closer co-operation, and there was general agreement that further discussion should take place with a view to converting the idea into a concrete proposition. But the spokesmen of some of the non-European States emphasised that if machinery for dealing with European problems were created within the framework of the League, the interests of the non-European members would have to be safeguarded. The Assembly passed a resolution

which, after recognising in principle the need for closer European co-operation, and confirming the view that this should be effected within the framework of the League, invited the Governments of the European States, acting with the assistance of the League Secretariat as a Committee of the League, to carry the enquiry further with a view to presenting concrete proposals to the next Assembly. It was stated in the resolution that this enquiry might be conducted by the European States in conjunction with the non-European Members of the League and with States which are not Members of the League, and the President of the Assembly stated when the motion was adopted that it was understood that the meetings of the Committee for European Union should be open to all States Members, in order that those not immediately concerned might place before the Committee any observations which they might consider necessary. In pursuance of this resolution a formal meeting of the Committee of Enquiry for European Union was held on the 23rd September, when the future procedure was arranged and the date of the next meeting was fixed for January 1931.

The Resolution adopted by the Assembly on this subject reads as follows :—

The Assembly,

Having noted with keen satisfaction the resolution adopted at Geneva on 8th September 1930 by the representatives of the European Governments Members of the League of Nations ;

Being convinced, as they are, that close co-operation between the Governments of Europe in every field of international activity is of capital importance for the preservation of peace ;

Sharing their unanimous opinion that such co-operation, whatever form it may assume, should be within the framework of the League of Nations, in complete accord with the League and in the spirit of the Covenant :

Invites the Governments of the European States Members of the League of Nations, acting, with the assistance of the Secretariat, as a Commission of the League, to pursue the enquiry which has already been begun, and of which the French memorandum of 17th May 1930 and the replies thereto constitute the first elements ;

Reminds them that, in so far as such co-operation may seem to them to be useful for the pursuit of their inquiry, it is open to them to conduct this enquiry in conjunction with non-European Members and with non-Member Governments ;

And requests that the first results of this enquiry should, in so far as is possible, be embodied in the form of definite proposals, in a report which should be prepared in time to allow of its submission to the next Assembly. (*Resolution adopted on 17th September 1930.*)

Speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner.

7. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner addressed the Assembly on the 16th September. His Highness began by recalling his association with the Peace Conference and the fact that he shared with Sir Robert Borden, who had made the opening speech, the privilege of assisting at the birth of the League. He stood there as the symbol of the unity of India in her adherence to the League, representing both British India and the Indian States, which comprise about one-third of the area of India and one-fourth of her population. India, as much as other countries, was convinced that no array of difficulties, however great, must be allowed to discourage them from the pursuit of peace. It was only a few years ago that mankind still believed that glory was to be won through war, but the outlook of the civilised world was now altered. He, like General Hertzog, who had spoken earlier, was a soldier, and there were none who more deeply desired to serve the cause of peace than soldiers. Soldiers knew that there could be no effective security from war without a substantial and universal limitation of armaments ; they also knew the difficulties, but these difficulties must be overcome. India had special problems on her frontiers, for which the machinery of the League afforded no protection, but she was ready to collaborate in all schemes of disarmament compatible with her security ; the philosophy of India was an embodiment of the most complete and consistent code of pacificism in the world. India could not but be friendly to the underlying aims of the European co-operation which M. Briand had expounded. M. Briand had disclaimed all idea of organising Europe in a spirit of antagonism to the outside world ; yet there might be a danger in these early years of the League that a plan for the closer union of Europe might give rise to misapprehension outside Europe as running counter to the basic principles of the Covenant that the League existed not for Europe, not for Asia, but for the world. Any impression that Europe was seeking to consolidate its industrial position to the detriment, however unintended, of less fortunate parts of the world might lead to consequences which no Member of the League could desire. It was, therefore, a happy instinct which had prompted M. Briand to give all Members of the League an opportunity to consider how far the machinery of the League could be adapted to the consideration of regional problems. International co-operation in the economic sphere should be as far as possible world-wide rather than sectional or regional. The depression of agriculture and the depression of industry were organically allied problems and embraced the whole world ; it was for the technical organisations of the League to investigate the means whereby industry and agriculture alike could be safeguarded against the recurrence of depression. Sympathetic criticism was needed for progress, and service to the League must be rendered with a loyalty which was not blind but proceeded from clear-sighted courage.

The text of the speech will be found among the appendices.

Speeches of Mr. Graham and Mr. Henderson.

8. Two important speeches were made by the British Delegation. Mr. Graham spoke on the economic situation and Mr. Henderson dealt with political subjects.

9. Mr. Graham said that it had been hoped last year that with the Reparations Settlement a period of stability was being approached. This hope had been disappointed by the collapse of commodity prices, and no one could say that the fall of prices had yet reached bed-rock. He hoped that the machinery of the League would be able to make use of the research work on trade depressions which was being carried out in various countries, and so make some practical contribution towards safeguarding the world against recurrent distress. He went on to refer to the so-called Tariff Truce Conference of last spring. He announced the decision of the British Government to ratify the Convention for concerted economic action which was to provide the basis for further negotiations. These negotiations were to cover other economic restrictions besides those of tariffs, though he regarded tariff reduction as the most important aim. There was a great danger that the present depression might lead to increased tariffs, which, though they might produce some degree of temporary alleviation, would end by aggravating the situation. Tariffs and economic nationalism could not make any real contribution to the solution of the problem and it was necessary to sound the international note in economic relations.

10. Mr. Henderson said that closer co-operation between European nations, which all agreed was of vital importance for the peace of the world, must be carried out in full agreement with and on the authority of the League, and the machinery required should be League machinery without incurring the risks and difficulties which a system of new and independent institutions might involve. After referring to the fact that all members of the British Commonwealth of Nations had ratified the signature of the Optional Clause, he stated that only 17 Members of the League had not yet signed the Clause and only 11 others, who had signed it, had not yet ratified; this was an advance of great importance, and they might hope soon to see the acceptance of the Optional Clause practically universal. But the Optional Clause was only a first step, and Great Britain stood for the acceptance by all States of the principle that disputes of every kind, and not only those of a justiciable nature, should be settled by pacific means. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom had always been favourably disposed towards the principle of the General Act of 1928, but in a matter of such vital concern they desired to proceed in close accord with the other members of the British Commonwealth; it would be one of the chief tasks of the approaching Imperial Conference to consider what further contribution the British Commonwealth could make to the cause of disarmament and peace. The proposals to amend certain Articles of the Covenant in accordance with the Pact of Paris and the draft Treaty of Financial Assistance were both measures in the direction of security which Great Britain was prepared to support; but it was the profound belief of his Government that security and disarmament were closely interlocked, and the acceptance of these two measures by the British Government would be made dependent on the condition that disarmament ceased to be a mere phrase and became a reality. Security was impossible if competitive military preparations continued; of all security measures disarmament was the most important, and the obligation in Article 8 of the Covenant to accept a general reduction and limitation of armaments was no less sacred than any other obligation contained in the treaties of peace. It was two years since the Assembly had adopted a resolution which declared that the existing conditions of security were sufficient to allow of the conclusion of a first General Disarmament Convention, and yet in those two years no treaty had been made.

Other Speeches.

11. All the leading statesmen, including Dr. Curtius, the Foreign Minister for Germany, General Hertzog, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, and Sir Robert Borden, ex-Prime Minister of Canada, took part in the general debate. A point of special interest was that the delegate for Persia, His Excellency Hussein Alâ, stated that he had just received a telegram from Teheran informing him that Persia adhered to the Optional Clause. A speaker who, as much as any other, seemed to voice the prevailing dissatisfaction with existing conditions was Jonkheer F. Beelaerts van Blokland, the Foreign Minister for Holland. After an unsparing analysis of the failures of the year in international politics and in the activities of the League, he likened the progress of the League during the year to the progress of the new League building; the foundation stone had been laid at the last Assembly, but it still stood alone. He recognised, however, that the spectre of war was definitely fading away. He recalled Article 19 of the Covenant as to the reconsideration of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world, and he asked whether it would not be well to insert another clause providing for the reconsideration of a form of nationalism which has become inapplicable and the reconsideration of economic conceptions, the continuance of which might endanger the peace of the world.

Elections.

(A) COUNCIL.

12. The three temporary Members of the Council who retired this year after three years' tenure were Canada, Cuba and Finland. China, which had been a Member from 1926 to 1928 and was not under the ordinary rule eligible as a candidate until 1931, presented a claim to be declared eligible for re-election at once, but failed by five votes to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority. At the subsequent election Guatemala, Norway and the Irish Free State were successful with 41, 38 and 36 votes respectively, Portugal being the highest unsuccessful candidate with 30 votes.

(B) PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

13. The second general election for the Court took place this year. There were 15 judges to be elected. To secure election each candidate has to obtain an absolute majority of votes both in the Assembly and the Council, voting separately and simultaneously. At the first ballot in the Assembly 14 candidates obtained absolute majorities. Four more ballots were necessary before a fifteenth candidate secured an absolute majority. The result of the ballots in the Assembly was then compared with that of the Council, and it was found that the two lists were coincident in respect of 14 names. These 14 candidates were therefore declared elected. These were:—

M. Adatci.	Sir Cecil Hurst.
M. Altamira y Crevea.	Mr. F. B. Kellogg.
M. Anzilotti.	M. Negulesco.
M. de Bustamante y Sirven.	Baron Rollin-Jaequemyns.
M. van Eysinga.	Count Rostworowski.
M. Fromageot.	M. Schucking.
M. Guerrero.	M. Wang Chung-Hui.

14. Five more ballots had to be taken before a candidate again obtained an absolute majority in the Assembly, and it was then found that the choice of the Council had fallen upon a different candidate. After an eleventh ballot in the Assembly it was found that the Assembly and the Council were in agreement in the choice of M. Urrutia, and he was accordingly elected to fill the fifteenth place.

15. After six more ballots in the Assembly, the Assembly and the Council agreed upon the choice of the following as deputy judges:—

M. Erich.	M. Redlich.
M. Novakovitch.	M. da Matta.

This procedure took up the greater part of a day. A point of interest is that the Latin-American States were successful in establishing their claim to the election of three among the 15 judges.

Work of the Six Committees.

16. We now turn to the work of the six Committees, which were constituted as follows in accordance with precedent:—

COMMITTEE I.

Legal and Constitutional Questions.

Chairman: M. Scialoja (Italy); *Delegate of India:* Sir Ewart Greaves; later Sir B. K. Mullick.

COMMITTEE II.

Technical Organisations.

Chairman: M. Colijn (Holland); *Delegates of India:* Sir D. P. Sarvadhicary, Sir Jehangir Coyajee.

COMMITTEE III.

Reduction of Armaments.

Chairman: M. Politis (Greece); *Delegates of India:* His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, Sir Denys Bray.

COMMITTEE IV.

Budget and Financial Questions.

Chairman: Count Carton de Wiart (Belgium); *Delegates of India:* His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, Sir Jehangir Coyajee.

COMMITTEE V.

Social and Humanitarian Questions.

Chairman: Countess Apponyi (Hungary); *Delegates of India:* Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Sir D. P. Sarvadhicary.

COMMITTEE VI.

Political Questions.

Chairman: Sir Robert Borden (Canada); *Delegates of India:* Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Sir Denys Bray.

COMMITTEE I.—Legal and Constitutional Questions.

AMENDMENT OF THE COVENANT.

17. This matter was perhaps the most important and difficult of those discussed by the Eleventh Assembly. The British Delegation had proposed at the last Assembly that the Covenant should be amended so as to bring it into line with the Pact of Paris. In accordance with the decision of the Assembly, a Committee of Jurists had been convened, and submitted a report containing recommendations as to the amendments necessary and desirable for the purpose in view. These recommendations went somewhat beyond the mere assimilation of the Covenant to the principles of the Paris Pact, chiefly in the direction of providing a positive contribution to the measures in existence for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Also by increasing the obligations of the Covenant the amendments tended to increase the conditions which would constitute a violation of the Covenant, and thus to increase the liability for applying sanctions to Covenant breakers under Article 16.

18. The amendments were discussed by the First Committee and later by a Sub-Committee. Agreement was reached on certain points, and, in particular, it was agreed not to follow the Committee of Jurists in attempting to assimilate recommendations of the Council for the settlement of international disputes under Article 15 (6) to arbitral awards or judicial decisions. But serious difficulties arose in regard to the relation between Article 16, which provides for the application of sanctions, and the amendments of the preceding Articles. There were also difficulties in regard to the position of States Members which have not acceded to the Pact of Paris, in regard to the bearing upon the amended Articles of the interpretations placed upon the Pact of Paris by certain States at the time of signature or accession and in regard to the compatibility between the amended Articles and certain other treaties, such as the Treaty of Locarno. In view of these difficulties and of the fact that they were no longer dealing with the texts recommended by the Committee of Jurists on which the delegations had been instructed by their Governments, the Sub-Committee decided that the whole matter would have to be further considered by the Governments with a view to discussion at the next Assembly. This decision, although the subject of natural disappointment in certain quarters, was confirmed by the Assembly.

19. The delegations representing the British Commonwealth followed a uniform policy. It was not necessary for us to take any part in the discussions of the Committee. For this reason, and in view of the fact that no decision of substance was reached, we do not attempt to deal with the subject in any detail. For a proper understanding of it, nothing but a close study of the Report of the Committee of Jurists and of the Report of the First Committee of the Assembly would suffice. This Report will be found in Appendix II.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly :

Believing it to be necessary to incorporate in the Covenant of the League of Nations the general prohibition of resort to war and the principle that the settlement of international disputes should never be sought except by pacific means;

Appreciating the great value of the report made by the Committee of Eleven;

Taking account of the fact that, on some points, the First Committee has been led to consider changes in the proposed texts and that in the course of the discussion certain political aspects of the question have come into view which render it desirable for it to be further studied:

Requests the Secretary-General to submit to the Governments of the Members of the League the report of the Committee of Eleven and that of the First Committee, asking them to formulate their observations before 1st June 1931 and to state, if they so desire, what amendments to the Covenant would, in their opinion, be best suited to attain the object in view. (*Resolution adopted on 4th October 1930.*)

CODIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

20. After several years' preparations the first Conference for the Codification of International Law was held at The Hague last spring. It attempted to deal with three subjects—Nationality, Territorial Waters and Responsibility of States for damage done in their territory to the person or property of foreigners. The results were meagre and the hopes founded upon the Conference were for the most part disappointed. To some extent failure was due to the fact that the preparations, long and elaborate though they were, had not been sufficient to enable Governments to realise the differences which separated them, or to appreciate the extent of the mutual accommodation which would be necessary for success; to some extent also failure was due to the fact that many delegates were more concerned to maintain and establish the existing national or sectional views than to arrive at international accord by adjustment and concession. It was obvious that the results of the Conference did not justify any extension of activity on the same lines, and the Conference itself had made recommendations for a more elaborate future procedure both in the stage in which subjects are considered by independent experts and in the subsequent consultation of Governments. But it was not only a question of procedure. Questions of principle—to what extent and in what fields codification might usefully be applied to the development of international law, or whether that development would be better left to other processes—were also in issue.

21. Various propositions were placed before the First Committee, some contemplating a limitation of the categories of international law in which codification should be attempted, some asking for the appointment of an expert committee to examine the whole question, and others suggesting that Governments should be given time to consider the subject between this and the next Assembly. Speakers differed as to the value which they attached to the results of the Hague Conference and to the process of codification. But all were agreed that no new departure on the old lines was advisable in the immediate future. The questions raised would have required for their solution much more time than was available in the congested state of the Committee's agenda. Before the debate had proceeded far the Committee took the sensible course of adopting a resolution which adjourned the whole question to the next session of the Assembly, and requested the Council to invite Members of the League and non-member States to communicate their observations on the suggestions which had been put forward with a view to their consideration at the next Assembly.

The Resolution is as follows :—

The Assembly has taken note of the work of the Conference which was held at The Hague in March and April 1930, as a result of the initiative taken by the Assembly by its resolution of 22nd September 1924 regarding the progressive codification of international law.

It reaffirms the great interest taken by the League of Nations in the development of international law, *inter alia*, by codification, and considers it to be one of the most important tasks of the League to further such development by all the means in its power.

The recommendations made by the Conference contain suggestions of the highest value, and must be taken into account in examining what would be the best methods for continuing the work which has been begun.

The Assembly accordingly decides to adjourn the question to its next session, and requests the Council, in the meanwhile, to invite the Members of the League of Nations and the non-Member States to communicate to it, if they so desire, their observations on these suggestions, in order that these observations may be taken into consideration by the Assembly. (*Resolution adopted on 3rd October 1930.*)

ORGANISATION OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

22. As our predecessors reported, the Assembly of 1929 adopted certain amendments of the Statute of the Permanent Court with the object of (1) consolidating the position of the judges, and (2) placing the Court itself on a permanent and continuous basis. These amendments provided, *inter alia*, for abolishing the deputy judges and increasing the ordinary judges from 11 to 15, for adopting a system of fixed inclusive salaries for the judges, for introducing the principle of the Court being in permanent session except during vacations and for prohibiting judges from engaging in other occupations of a professional nature. It had been agreed by the Assembly of 1929 that the amendments might come into force in time for this year's election, even though they had not been formally ratified by all the signatories, provided that no Government had any objection to effect being given in advance of formal ratification. Cuba, however, had given notice of objection to this procedure, and this objection was not withdrawn and could not be set aside.

23. The question how to deal with the resultant situation was the subject of much discussion in the First Committee. It was desired that the judges to be elected for the next period of the Court's existence should be subject to the conditions provided for in the amendments so far as was possible while the amendments themselves still awaited universal formal ratification. It was found that the desired changes could be introduced to a large extent under the existing Statute by resolutions of the Assembly and by alterations which it was hoped that the Court itself would make in its rules. We need not describe in detail the arrangements which the Assembly decided to make. The main points are (1) the number of judges has been increased from 11 to 15; the deputy judges have to remain until the Statute is amended, but it will probably not be necessary to call upon their services; (2) the fixed inclusive salary could not be introduced, but an approximation to it has been achieved by largely increasing the fixed portion of the judges' emoluments and diminishing the variable portion under the existing Statute; and consequential modifications have been made in the pension system. Other points relating to the sessions of the Court and the attendance of the judges remain to be regulated by the Court itself. It was on this basis that the election of judges was carried out.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions :—

1. The Assembly expresses the hope that the States which have not so far ratified the Protocol of 14th September 1929, concerning the revision of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice, will proceed, as soon as possible, to ratify that Protocol.

2. The Assembly,

Having regard to the proposal formulated by the Council on 12th September 1930, in conformity with Article 3 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice,

Decides as follows :

The number of Judges for which provision is made in Article 3 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice is increased from 11 to 15.

3. The Assembly requests the Permanent Court of International Justice to examine the suggestions contained in Part II, paras. 1 and 2, of the Report of the Committee of Jurists which was submitted to and approved by the Council of the League of Nations on 12th September 1930, and expresses the hope that the Court will give consideration to the possibility of regulating, pending the coming into force of the Protocol of 14th September 1929, concerning the revision of the Statute of the Court, the questions of the sessions of the Court and the attendance of the Judges, on the basis of Article 30 of the Statute as annexed to the Protocol of 16th December 1920.

4. The Assembly,

Having regard to the proposal formulated by the Council on 12th September 1930, in conformity with Article 32 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice,

Decides as follows:

The salaries and allowances of the members of the Court are fixed as follows as from 1st January 1931 until the Assembly's resolution of 14th December 1929, concerning the salaries and allowances of the members of the Court, becomes applicable:

			Dutch florins.
<i>President</i>	-	- Annual salary	35,000
	.	Special allowance	25,000
<i>Vice-President</i>	-	- Annual salary	35,000
	.	Allowance of 50 florins for each day of duty as Judge up to a maximum of	10,000
	.	Allowance of 50 florins for each day on which he acts as President up to a maximum of	10,000
<i>Judges</i>	-	- Annual salary	35,000
	.	Allowance of 50 florins for each day of duty up to a maximum of	10,000
<i>Deputy and National Judges</i>	-	Allowance of 150 florins for each day of duty up to a maximum of	30,000

The allowances for each day of duty run from the day of the recipient's departure to the day of his return.

Allowances and salaries shall be free of all taxes.

5. The Assembly,

Having regard to the proposal formulated by the Council on 12th September 1930, in accordance with Article 32 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice,

Decides as follows:

Pensions will be allowed subject to the conditions hereinafter stated to the personnel of the Court holding office on 1st January 1931, or subsequently entering on office:—

Article 1.

The Judges and the Registrar of the Court who have, for any reason whatever, ceased to hold office shall be entitled to retiring pensions.

This right, however, shall not be recognised if the persons concerned have been dismissed for reasons other than the state of their health.

In the case of resignation, Judges on the Court will not be entitled to pensions unless they have completed a period of five years' service, and the Registrar shall not be entitled to a pension unless he has completed a period of seven years' service, but the Court shall have power, by a special decision, based on the fact that the person concerned is in a precarious state of health and has insufficient means, to grant him a pension equivalent to that to which he would have been entitled had he completed the minimum period of service laid down above.

The payment of a pension shall not begin until the person entitled to such pension has reached the age of 65. In certain exceptional cases, however, the pension may, by a decision of the Court, be made payable, in whole or part, to persons entitled thereto before they reach that age.

Article 2.

No retiring pension payable under the present Regulations shall exceed 15,000 Dutch florins per annum in the case of Judges of the Court and 10,000 Dutch florins per annum in the case of the Registrar.

Article 3.

Subject to the provisions of Article 2, Judges shall be entitled to the payment of a pension equivalent to one-thirtieth of their salary in respect of each period of twelve months passed in the service of the Court, the amount being calculated:

For the President, on his annual salary and special allowance;

For the Vice-President and the other Judges, on their annual salary and duty allowance.

The Registrar shall be entitled to the payment of a pension equivalent to one-fortieth of his salary in respect of each period of twelve months passed in the service of the Court.

If a person entitled to a pension is re-elected to office, the pension shall cease to be payable during his new term of office; at the end of this period, however, the amount of his pension shall be determined as provided for above, on the basis of the total period during which he discharged his duties.

Article 4.

Subject to the provisions of Article 3, retiring pensions shall be payable monthly in arrears during the lifetime of the beneficiary.

Article 5.

Retiring pensions shall be regarded as coming under the "expenses of the Court" within the meaning of Article 33 of the Statute of the Court.

Article 6.

The Assembly of the League of Nations may, on the proposals of the Council, amend the present Regulations.

Nevertheless, any amendment so made shall not apply to persons elected before the amendment in question was adopted unless they give their consent thereto. (*Resolutions adopted on 25th September 1930.*)

PROPOSAL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF FINLAND TO CONFER ON THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE JURISDICTION AS A TRIBUNAL OF APPEAL IN RESPECT OF ARBITRAL TRIBUNALS ESTABLISHED BY STATES.

24. On this subject the Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly decides to refer to its ordinary session of 1931 the examination of the Report of the Committee set up by the Council to study the Finnish proposal to confer on the Permanent Court of International Justice jurisdiction as a tribunal of appeal in respect of arbitral tribunals established by States. (*Resolution adopted on 3rd October 1930.*)

RATIFICATION OF INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS CONCLUDED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

25. On this subject the Assembly adopted the following Resolutions and Recommendations:—

1. The Assembly,

Having examined with the greatest interest the Report of the Committee appointed to consider the question of the ratification and signature of conventions concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations in accordance with an Assembly resolution of 24th September 1929;

Being convinced that the solution of the problem of ratification depends to a great extent upon satisfactory preparation for the conferences which are convened to draw up conventions;

Considering it to be of the greatest importance that all steps should be taken to assure that conventions concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations should be accepted by the largest possible number of countries and that ratifications of such conventions should be deposited with the least possible delay:

Expresses its appreciation of the work of the Committee and its approval of their Report; and

Recommends that effect should be given to the proposals contained in the Report of the Committee in the manner set out in the immediately following resolutions:—

I.

That each year the Secretary-General should request any Member of the League or non-Member State which has signed any general convention concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, but has not ratified it before the expiry of one year from the date at which the protocol of signature is closed, to inform him what are its intentions with regard to the ratification of the convention. Such requests of the Secretary-General to Governments should be sent at such a date in each year as to allow time for the replies of Governments to be received before the date of the Assembly, and information as to the requests so made and replies received should be communicated to the Assembly for its consideration.

II.

That, at such times and at such intervals as seem suitable in the circumstances, the Secretary-General should, in the case of each general convention concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, request the Government of any Member of the League of Nations which has neither signed nor acceded to a convention within a period of five years from the date on which the convention became open for signature, to state its views with regard to the convention—in particular, whether such Government considers there is any possibility of its accession to the convention or whether it has objections to the substance of the convention which prevent it from accepting the convention. Information of all such requests made by the Secretary-General and of all replies received should be communicated to the Assembly.

III.

That the Council of the League should, with regard to each existing general convention negotiated under the auspices of the League of Nations, consider, after consultation with any appropriate organ or committee of the League, and in the light of such information as may be available as to the result of the enquiries recommended in resolutions Nos. I and II, and any other enquiries that the Council may think fit, whether it would be desirable and expedient that a second conference should be summoned for the purpose of determining whether amendments should be introduced into the convention, or other means adopted, to facilitate the acceptance of the convention by a greater number of countries.

IV.

That, in the case of all general conventions to be negotiated under the auspices of the League of Nations, the following preparatory procedure should, in principle, be followed, exception being made of the cases where previous conventions or arrangements have established a special procedure or where, owing

to the nature of the questions to be treated or to special circumstances, the Assembly or the Council consider other methods to be more appropriate :—

- (1) Where an organ of the League of Nations recommends the conclusion of a general convention on any matter it shall prepare a memorandum explaining the objects which it is desired to achieve by the conclusion of the convention and the benefits which result therefrom. Such memorandum shall be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations.
- (2) If the Council approves the proposal in principle, a first draft convention shall be prepared and communicated, together with the explanatory memorandum, to Governments, with the request that, if they feel that the draft should be taken into consideration, they shall inform the Secretary-General of their views, both with regard to the main objects or the suggested means of attaining them, and also with regard to the draft convention. In some cases, it may be desirable to annex a specific questionnaire.
- (3) The draft convention and the observations of Governments (together with the answers to the questionnaire, if any) shall be communicated to the Assembly, and the Assembly shall then decide whether to propose to the Council to convene the contemplated conference.
- (4) If the Assembly recommends that a conference should be convened, the Council shall arrange for the preparation of a draft convention, in the light of the replies received from Governments and the new draft convention (together with the replies of other Governments) shall be transmitted to each Government, with a request for their opinion on the provisions of the draft and any observations on the above-mentioned replies of the other Governments.
- (5) In the light of the results of this second consultation of the Governments, the Council shall decide whether the conference should be convened and fix the date.
- (6) The Council, in fixing the date for the convocation of a conference, shall endeavour, as far as possible, to avoid two League of Nations conferences being held simultaneously, and to ensure the lapse of a reasonable interval between two conferences.
- (7) The procedure set out in the preceding paragraphs will be followed as far as possible in the case of draft conventions, the desirability of which is recognised by a decision of the Assembly or as the result of a proposal by a Government.

The above rules shall be communicated to the technical organisations of the League of Nations, and to the Governments, for the purpose of enabling the Assembly at its next session to consider whether changes should be made therein as a result of any suggestions which may be made.

V.

That, in conformity with the recommendations contained in Part III, paras. 2 (d), (e) and (f) of the Report of the Committee appointed in accordance with the resolution of the Assembly of 24th September 1929, at future conferences held under the auspices of the League of Nations at which general conventions are signed, protocols of signature shall, as far as possible, be drawn up on the general lines of the alternative drafts set out in Annexes I and II of the present resolution.

ANNEX I.

PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE.

In signing the Convention of this day's date relating to the undersigned plenipotentiaries, being duly authorised to this effect and in the name of their respective Governments, declare that they have agreed as follows :—

I. That the Government of every Member of the League of Nations or non-Member State on whose behalf the said Convention has been signed undertakes, not later than (date), either to submit the said Convention for parliamentary approval, or to inform the Secretary-General of the League of Nations of its attitude with regard to the Convention.

II. If on (date) the said Convention is not in force with regard to Members of the League of Nations and non-Member States, the Secretary-General of the League shall bring the situation to the attention of the Council of the League of Nations, which may either convene a new conference of all the Members of the League and non-Member States on whose behalf the Convention has been signed or accessions thereto deposited, to consider the situation, or take such other measures as it considers necessary. The Government of every signatory or acceding State undertakes to be represented at any conference so convened. The Governments of Members of the League and non-Member States which have not signed the Convention or acceded thereto may also be invited to be represented at any conference so convened by the Council of the League.

Note.—The procedure provided for in this Annex is generally suitable for most general conventions. In cases in which it is applied, the final article of the convention should be drafted in the usual form and should not fix any named or final date for the entry into force of the convention, but should permit its entry into force on receipt of a relatively small number of ratifications or accessions.

ANNEX II.

FINAL ARTICLE OF THE CONVENTION.

Article X.

The present Convention shall enter into force on (date), provided that, on this date, ratifications or accessions have been deposited with or notified to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations on behalf of Members of the League of Nations or non-Member States.

PROTOCOL OF SIGNATURE.

In signing the Convention of to-day's date relating to the undersigned plenipotentiaries, being duly authorised to this effect and in the name of their respective Governments, declare that they have agreed as follows :

If on the said Convention has not come into force in accordance with the provisions of Article X, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall bring the situation to the attention of the Council of the League of Nations, which may either convene a new conference of all

the Members of the League and non-Member States on whose behalf the Convention has been signed or accessions thereto deposited, to consider the situation, or take such other measures as it considers necessary. The Government of every signatory or acceding State undertakes to be represented at any conference so convened.

Note.—The procedure provided for in Annex II is suitable for certain types of convention whose practical utility depends on their immediate entry into force for a considerable number of States.

VI.

That the Council will investigate to what extent, in the case of general conventions dealing with particular matters, it is possible—in view of the constitutional law and practices of different States—to adopt the procedure of signing instruments in the form of governmental agreements which are not subject to ratification, and that, to the extent that it is possible to do so, this procedure should be followed in regard to minor and technical matters.

VII.

That, in future, general conventions negotiated under the auspices of the League of Nations and made subject to ratification shall not be left open for signature after the close of the conference for a longer period than six months, unless special reasons render a longer period advisable.

2. The Assembly, appreciating the utility of the tables, diagrams and graphs prepared by the Secretariat of the League of Nations in accordance with the Assembly's resolution of 24th September 1929, expresses the wish :—

(1) That the said tables be published three times a year at the same time as the lists drawn up at the request of the Council ;

(2) That the Secretary-General, after consulting the Governments and the central offices of the international unions and commissions, should consider the possibility of drawing up similar tables for all general conventions which are in force. (*Resolutions and recommendations adopted on 3rd October 1930.*)

26. The Assembly decided not to proceed further with a proposal to increase the number of Vice-Presidents of the Assembly.

COMMITTEE II.—Technical Organisations.

THE ECONOMIC ORGANISATION.

27. It has been well observed that if during the first decade of the League its political work was of dominating importance, it is the economic aspect of its work which is taking the pride of place in the present decade. The tendency towards this transition of interest has been accelerated by the great economic depression ; and it is no matter of surprise that the discussions of the Assembly and of the Second Committee were largely concerned throughout the present Session with this all-absorbing topic. As the report of the Second Committee states, the economic discussions of the Session "have either dealt in general terms with the causes and various aspects of the depression in certain countries or throughout the world, or have been directed to the elucidation of various problems of commercial policy which the development of the depression renders more and more urgent."

(1) *Study of the Economic Depression.*

28. The Indian Delegation assumed the initiative in the Second Committee in pressing for a careful study of the causes and course of the depression and for an investigation of any remedial or ameliorative action possible under the circumstances. Sir J. C. Coyajee (the text of whose speech will be found in Appendix III) said that the only alternative before the world in the present economic situation is co-operation or chaos. The world has had ample experience of the great evil caused by the long depression which marked the seventies and eighties of the last century. A resolution was put forward which not only covered the above proposals, but also proposed the prosecution and continuation of studies relating to the problem of the recurrence of periods of economic depression. It might be that some of the factors in the development of the present depression appear somewhat abnormal. But then we have to take account of the fact that the war and its sequelæ have radically changed the economic situation in the world ; and having once made a comprehensive study of the present great depression it would be a waste of economic effort not to retain some of the machinery instituted for studying the future problems of depressions. The resolution also called for the treatment of agricultural problems on a level of equality with those of industry and commerce.

29. The resolution found powerful supporters ; it was backed by the delegates of Great Britain and the Dominions, by Japan and by various other Member States. The delegate for Ireland supported it on the ground that before that resolution there had been no really comprehensive attempt made to investigate or diagnose the economic disease from which the world has been suffering. Even the study of tariffs and the proposals for a tariff truce were proposals which envisaged the matter only partially. Thus, as he observed, the removal of customs barriers, even if achieved, could not lead to a bigger market for Europe as a whole. Above all, attention might be drawn in this matter to the important proposals put forward in Mr. Graham's speech for an inquiry to collect all the facts in regard to the economic depression.

30. On the other hand, though there were no opponents of the resolution, attempts were made to modify it. Thus the delegate for the Netherlands was for a preliminary inquiry by the Financial and Economic Organisation of the League as to whether the main inquiry proposed by the resolution was to be undertaken. The motive of such a preliminary inquiry was stated to be economy. The delegate for France also moved an amendment referring the inquiry to the Economic Consultative Committee "without, however, engaging in any special procedure or special expense."

31. The resolution of the Indian Delegation was modified in form, though not in substance, by an amendment which introduced into it an explicit reference to the collaboration in the work of investigation on the part of the International Labour Office and of the International Institute for Agriculture at Rome. The resolution as framed originally provided for full and general co-operation on the part of all research committees and institutions which were capable of affording suitable or material assistance.

32. The resolution, as finally passed by the Committee and afterwards by the Assembly, was as follows:—

The Assembly, impressed by the seriousness of the present situation, by the general recession of employment and trade, by the constant recurrence of such periods of economic depression and the failure up to the present to discover any concerted means for averting the losses incurred, resolves that the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League, which has already been studying the causes of fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold and their effect upon the economic life of the nations, should undertake the study of the course and phases of the present depression and the circumstances which led up to it, and for this purpose it should collect the information compiled by institutions already in existence in different countries, centralise such information and, where necessary, fill up any gaps that exist.

For this purpose the Economic Organisation, advised by, in particular, the Economic Consultative Committee, should put itself in touch with national organisations, whether consultative or planning councils or research institutions concerned with this matter, and should further, with their aid, consider by what means the work now being conducted on the problem of the recurrence of periods of economic depression may be co-ordinated.

Believing that the restoration of prosperity in the countries which are mainly concerned with agriculture and the production of raw materials is not only a worthy object in itself, but that it will also contribute to the restoration of prosperity in other countries, the Assembly desires that, in the course of the comprehensive inquiry into world economic depression referred to in the present recommendation special attention should be devoted to the programme and investigations recommended by the agricultural experts who met in Geneva in January 1930, and to the result of the work carried out by international organisations specially qualified in such matters.

It also recommends that, in connection with these investigations, account should be taken of the results of the inquiry conducted by the International Labour Office into unemployment and the work of other competent international bodies on this subject, in order that the Economic and Financial Organisation, having collected all the available information, may examine at the right moment the advisability of international action, due regard being had to the economic, financial and demographic aspects of the labour problem, including the question of raw materials.

(2) *The Warsaw Conference Resolutions.*

33. It will have been noted that the Indian delegate emphasised in his resolution the importance of finding a remedy for the agricultural aspect of the economic depression. As the representative of a great agricultural country like India he could have done no less. But the proposals put forward on behalf of India were perfectly general in character and involved no regional action or discriminatory features. Different in character were the resolutions based on the proceedings of the Conference held at Warsaw shortly before the Assembly by representatives of the agricultural countries of Eastern Europe. These resolutions were brought before the Assembly and the Second Committee by the delegates of the countries concerned. They frankly proposed, besides other points to which no objection could be taken, the granting of preferential treatment by European countries to agricultural products of European origin; further, they involved infringement of the most-favoured-nation clause. Regional understandings with preferential features were claimed to be the remedy for agricultural depression. Sir J. C. Coyajee pointed out that the main cause of the agricultural depression had been that production had been outrunning consumption, and that local agreements like those proposed at Warsaw could not be expected to remedy this state of affairs. Consumption can be effectively stimulated only by raising the general standard of living, and that task was quite beyond the power of local agreements like the one under discussion. What was wanted to achieve our purpose was a comprehensive policy.

34. He went on to point out that the present occasion was hardly the right one to embark on the implementing of the Warsaw Resolutions. The League had just created a committee to consider the general problem of European union and co-operation. To bring up simultaneously the particular question of partial and regional preferences within Europe was premature and might prejudice the general question. Finally the Indian delegate voiced the sentiments of the Dominions as well when he pointed out that non-European countries could have no ground for objecting if the European countries by independent negotiations make preferential agreements among themselves, but that it was a very different matter when such agreements were proposed to be made under the auspices and with the

sanction of the League itself and through its machinery. The League was concerned with world affairs and policies in their most comprehensive aspects.

35. It is the interest of India along with other non-European agricultural countries to watch very carefully the tendency to promote regional economic agreements under the auspices of the League, and to insist on any necessary safeguards. The Second Committee believed that the Warsaw proposals come within the scope of the economic reorganisation to be discussed between the State signatories of the Protocol of Future Negotiations of 24th March 1930; but always provided that the non-signatory States may be asked to participate, and that the result of all such negotiations shall be brought before a Conference which all States without distinction will be asked to attend.

THE MOST-FAVoured-NATION CLAUSE.

36. The advocates of the Warsaw resolutions had put forward the view that "there were no hard and fast principles which held good for ever, and that all principles must be adjusted to changing economic and social circumstances. . . . What we really want is an exception to the Most-Favoured-Nation clause." The preference which the countries of Eastern Europe desired was to be introduced as an exception to that clause. The representative of Austria urged that it was a mistake to insist upon the interpretation of the clause in an over-rigid sense. Others, notably the German delegate, spoke of the possibilities of a compromise. On the other hand the delegates of Denmark and Norway were against any restrictive interpretation of the clause, and opposed in particular the system of customs quotas.

37. Sir J. C. Coyajee, whose speech will be found in Appendix III, pointed out that Indian traditions had been uniformly liberal in the matter of the Most-Favoured-Nation policy, and that India shared with Great Britain the record of never having gone back on the widest interpretation of the Most-Favoured-Nation clause. It was in the light of these liberal traditions that India could agree to most of the principles laid down by the Economic Committee with regard to the field of application of the clause. He expressed his dissent from and opposition to the system of quotas and of specialisation, which might be made to operate in such a way as to nullify at least partially the generality of the Most-Favoured-Nation clause.

CONCERTED ECONOMIC ACTION.

38. At the first Conference on this subject last spring it was found that the idea of a tariff truce could not be immediately adopted, and a result was reached which was somewhat different from what had been originally expected. It resulted in the Convention of March 1930 and a Protocol, which will form the basis of the work of the League in this direction for years to come. The Second Committee took up this aspect of economic work and urged the ratification of the Convention on the part of the largest possible number of States. It also suggested that at the Conference to be held in November 1930 the conditions under which the Commercial Convention would be brought into force should be decided and that consideration should be given to the programme of future negotiations. As regards dumping, which is a growing evil under the conditions of economic depression, the Committee condemned once more this unhealthy practice.

The full text of the resolutions and recommendations adopted by the Assembly on economic questions other than the Resolutions on the Economic Depression is as follows:—

With reference to its resolution of September 1929, the Assembly is deeply impressed by the gravity of the economic depression at present prevailing throughout the world.

It believes that the concerted action contemplated a year ago is more than ever essential and urgent and should accordingly be immediately undertaken and vigorously pursued.

It stresses the special importance of the following points:—

(1) It notes that the first stage referred to in the above resolution was completed at the Preliminary Conference with a View to Concerted Economic Action held at Geneva from 17th February to 24th March 1930.

It accordingly makes an earnest appeal to all the States concerned to see that the Commercial Convention framed at that Conference is put into force as between the States signatories and obtains the accessions of the greatest possible number of other States.

(2) The Assembly has had under consideration the Protocol regarding the Programme of Future Negotiations and the report submitted to the Council by the Economic Committee on the work of its thirty-second session.

It expresses the hope that the Economic Committee may be able, at its next session, on the basis of the replies received from States represented at the Conference, to draw up concrete proposals so that the Council can, without delay, take steps to have the programme of future negotiations progressively carried into effect.

(3) The Assembly notes the proposals of the States which took part in the Warsaw Agricultural Conference, and, without desiring to pronounce on the controversial question of preferential treatment, it finds that these proposals are all part of the general programme for the organisation of the economic life of Europe and come within the scope of the meetings and negotiations provided for in the scheme of the Protocol of Future Negotiations.

(4) The Assembly observes that the question of the most-favoured-nation clause, which is included in the programme of future negotiations, has already been the subject of an exhaustive examination by the Economic Committee, the results of which were communicated to Governments; it requests the Council to instruct the Economic Committee to carry on, with the assistance of experts from the countries specially concerned, its investigations on this subject, bearing in mind the views expressed during the debates of the Second Committee.

The Assembly further requests the Council to put the question on the agenda of a Government Economic Conference as soon as the Economic Committee's investigations have made sufficient progress.

(5) The Assembly has taken particular note of the serious economic consequences of the various forms of dumping when they are encouraged by a policy of State intervention.

It expresses the desire that the subject of concerted action, not only in regard to the various forms of indirect protectionism, but also in regard to every aspect of dumping, should be studied with the least possible delay and within the framework of the future negotiations provided for in the Protocol of 24th March 1930.

(6) The Assembly congratulates the Sub-Committee of Experts for the Unification of Customs Nomenclature on the work already accomplished, and recommends that the Economic Committee should supply the Council with information enabling it, at an early date, to apply the procedure proposed for facilitating the adoption by the various States of the unified nomenclature and preserving the unity of the nomenclature after its adoption.

(7) Considering that disputes arising from conflicting interpretations of commercial Conventions or in connection with legislative or administrative enactments affecting international trade constitute an obstacle to economic co-operation, the Assembly endorses the recommendation already contained in the programme of future negotiations that the Economic Committee, on the basis of a careful survey of the existing juridical situation as regards treaties, should study the creation of a permanent organ of conciliation and arbitration to which all disputes among States arising from the interpretation and application of commercial conventions, whether bilateral or multilateral, might be referred without prejudice to the functions and jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

(8) Real progress in the direction of economic union cannot be restricted to the movement of commodities and capital, but must necessarily extend, under as liberal a system as possible, to the economic activities of companies and individuals.

The Assembly therefore deeply regrets that the complexity of the question prevented the Paris Conference of November 1929 from concluding a Convention on the Treatment of Foreigners which would have marked an improvement on the existing situation, and expresses the hope that no steps may be neglected which might contribute to the success of the second session of the Conference referred to in the Paris Protocol of December 1929 and the conclusion of a Convention on the most liberal basis possible.

(9) Noting that the Convention for the Abolition of Export and Import Prohibitions had, on 1st July 1930, obtained a large number of ratifications, the Assembly regrets that certain special obstacles should have prevented this Convention from coming into force between all the countries signatory thereto, and earnestly hopes that the States concerned will not abandon their decision to remove, by the abolition of prohibitions, one of the chief obstacles to the free movement of goods.

(10) The actual participation of Government representatives in the economic work of the League of Nations constitutes the essential guarantee for the conclusion and the entry into force of the international Conventions in conformity with the recommendations of the League of Nations.

The Assembly accordingly recommends that the Economic and Financial Organisation should secure the effective participation of Government representatives in the economic work of the League of Nations and that, with that end in view, the possibility of convening a Conference of Government delegates at the most suitable moment and under the most appropriate circumstances, if possible annually, should be considered.

(11) The Commission set up by the Assembly resolution of 17th September 1930 was instructed to consider the possibilities of close co-operation between European Governments in every field of international activity, including the economic field, and consequently the problems which this Commission will have to study are, to some extent, the same as the problems set forth in the Protocol regarding the Programme of Future Negotiations of 24th March 1930, more especially as regards the most-favoured-nation clause and commercial policy.

The Assembly therefore recommends that a close connection should be maintained between the work of this Commission and that involved in the execution of the above-mentioned Protocol, as both are of primary interest to the same States.

(12) The work of the Committee of Veterinary Experts, acting under the instructions of the Economic Committee, has already led to the framing of certain important principles for the international organisation of the campaign against animal diseases, the internal organisation of veterinary services and technical co-operation on the international plane.

The application of these principles would help to create an atmosphere of confidence between importing and exporting States, which would encourage the granting of wider facilities to international trade in animals and animal products.

The Assembly therefore recommends that the Economic Committee should expedite this work in order, after the meeting of experts provided for October 1930, to trace the main outline of one or several international agreements on the question.

(13) The Assembly is gratified to note the results of the Conference for the Unification of Laws in regard to Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes, and trusts that these results will be successfully supplemented at the second session of the Conference by similar agreements regarding cheques.

(14) Notified of the progress achieved by the Economic and Financial Organisation in its investigations into international industrial agreements, the Assembly recommends that these investigations should be energetically pursued with a view to the drawing up of a general report on all the aspects of the question.

(15) The Assembly, being informed of the results obtained by the meeting of agricultural experts summoned by the Economic Committee, expresses the hope that this essential co-operation in the consideration of all economic questions relating to agriculture will be continued.

(16) In general, the Assembly recommends that, in the case of questions within the competence of other public bodies, the Economic Organisation should take advantage of the work and secure the assistance of the latter, particularly in regard to labour (International Labour Office) and agriculture (International Institute of Agriculture). The Assembly regards such continuous co-operation as an essential factor in the rationalisation of international activities.

(17) The Assembly notes with satisfaction that the International Convention relating to Economic Statistics has now been ratified by 10 States, and will therefore come into force before the end of the current year. It further notes that certain countries have already put into operation some of the provisions of the Convention.

(18) The Assembly notes the recommendations of the Council that the work in connection with the Annual Survey of Economic Developments, the preparation of which was suggested at the last session of the Assembly, should not be undertaken until the Statistical Convention has come into force;

It decides that, in order to fulfil this necessary condition:

- (a) The Annual Survey referred to above should be published as a League document;
- (b) The preparatory work for this inquiry should be begun during 1931.

(Resolutions and Recommendations adopted on 2nd October 1930.)

THE FINANCIAL COMMITTEE.

39. Although it was unnecessary for us to take any part in the discussions on this subject, the reports presented to the Assembly this year are of so much interest and importance that we feel obliged briefly to describe their nature. Those who desire a closer acquaintance would do well to study the report of the 39th session of the Financial Committee and the report of the Second Committee to the Assembly on the subject.

40. Having practically completed four of the major tasks upon which it has been engaged in recent years—namely, the Greek Refugee Settlement Scheme, the Greek Financial Reconstruction, the Bulgarian Refugee Settlement Scheme, and the Financial Reorganisation of Estonia—the Committee had virtually reached the end of the phase of its work which consisted mainly in the preparation and execution of reconstruction schemes arising out of the dislocation caused by the war. The Committee is now free to devote more attention to general problems of international concern, and it took the opportunity to give a general description of its work and outlook. The Financial Committee has been singularly successful during the early period of the work of the League in rapidly achieving practical and positive results of far-reaching importance, and this has been the result of hard and disinterested technical work on the part of experts whose qualifications command general support and whose co-operation has been brought about through the machinery of the League. The work of the Committee falls into three main categories: (1) general financial questions; (2) advice and assistance to particular States; and (3) advice on financial questions arising out of the current work of the Council. In particular the subjects falling under the first heading are of interest to India. One of these is the question of the influence of gold supplies on general economic welfare. A body of experts working on this subject under the Financial Committee has prepared an interim report, of which the conclusion is that the inadequacy of the supply of new gold available for money is likely in the next few years to become a factor which will exercise a depressing influence on prices; it considers that remedial measures may be found to prevent the consequences anticipated from making themselves felt for at any rate some time to come, and it indicates the directions in which such remedial measures may be sought. On another such subject, that of agricultural credits, results of interest to agricultural countries generally are likely to arise out of the study which is being made under the direction of the Committee on the organisation of the co-operative system in Bulgaria.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly,

- (1) Expresses its appreciation of the valuable work of the Financial Committee.
- (2) Draws the attention of all Governments to the interim report on the question of the purchasing power of gold submitted by the Financial Committee to the Council.
- (3) Approves the principles set out in the statement of the Financial Committee on its work and functions which is contained in the report on its thirty-ninth session, transmitted by the Council to the Assembly for its consideration; and
- (4) Expresses its appreciation of the work being undertaken by the Fiscal Committee."

(Resolution adopted on 29th September 1930.)

HEALTH ORGANISATION.

41. Our predecessors have invariably commented on the value of the work of the League in the sphere of Health, and have pointed out that in no other subject has the universality of the League been more fully applied and realised. By promoting co-operation in the development of health measures and in the study of infectious diseases of world-wide

importance, the Health Organisation has been most successful in bringing countries into contact with one another, in effecting a realisation of the value of the League in distant countries which are not greatly concerned in a direct sense with its political work and in producing practical results in the field of health, which are of indirect importance from the economic and political point of view.

42. When the work of the Health Organisation in the past year came before the Second Committee, satisfactory progress was recorded in the numerous activities which had been under review in previous years. The most important development of the last year or two, a development which testifies in the most striking manner to the confidence which the Health Organisation has created in its efficiency and authority, has been the applications which certain Governments have addressed to the League for assistance in the improvement and reorganisation of their national health services. Last year the Health Committee had made recommendations to the Greek Government and those recommendations have been followed up and are already assuming concrete shape; for example, a new School of Hygiene is about to be opened in Greece. During the last 12 months the League has sent a Health Mission to China and the National Government of China has accepted, and is already in process of applying, the recommendations of this Mission. The Government of India had asked the delegation to support the work in China as representing an effort on the part of the League to assist Eastern countries, and Sir D. P. Sarvadikary took occasion to express himself in this sense. The text of this speech will be found in Appendix III. Similar work is being undertaken in Bolivia. Accordingly, in Europe, Asia and South America the Health Organisation is contributing in a most practical way to the improvement of health conditions.

43. In the course of the discussion Sir D. P. Sarvadikary joined with other delegates in congratulating the Organisation on the success of the year's work. He made various observations on the programme of the Health Committee from the point of view of India, and he agreed that the improvement of health conditions was to a large extent a matter of economic interest. He referred to the collaboration between General Graham and Colonel Christophers and the Malaria Commission, and he expressed appreciation for the reappointment of General Graham to the Health Committee. He regretted that, owing to a visit to Europe early in the year and to various important engagements in the East, General Graham would not be able to attend the important meeting of the Health Committee which was to be held at the end of September, and he suggested that the dates and programmes of the meetings of the Health Committee might perhaps be arranged with more foresight and more consideration of the convenience of the representatives of distant countries; in this respect there was room for greater regularity and co-ordination in the development of the work. He thanked the Dutch Government for the arrangements made in connection with the last session of the Advisory Council of the Eastern Bureau which was held at Bandoeng, and for the valuable facilities granted to the members for studying the methods employed in dealing with the health problems of Java. In the course of references to various subjects which were being undertaken, he said that the Government of India hoped shortly to take steps to prevent the entry of the virus of yellow fever into India. Among various subjects which might be undertaken, he suggested an enquiry into the quality and nutritive value of the various artificial foods prepared for the consumption of infants, and into the possibility of standardising these foods at a reasonable cost, and he also mentioned the desirability of an enquiry into the supplies of rice from the point of view of nutrition. The text of the speech by Sir D. P. Sarvadikary will be found in Appendix III.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly :

Recognising the importance of the work of the Health Organisation to the League as a whole, and the value of that work in connection with problems of development in all countries;

Expresses the hope that the experience gained by this Organisation may be made available in increasing measure to Member States of the League;

Notes with satisfaction that the activities of the Health Organisation continue to extend to countries in all parts of the world, and that during the past year they have been specially exercised in certain countries which have invited the technical advice of the League in the Development of their public health services;

Approves the work carried on by the Organisation since the last session of the Assembly; and

Expresses its appreciation to the members of the Health Committee, as well as to the different health administrations and individual experts who have contributed in so large a measure to the success of their activities. (*Resolution adopted on 29th September 1930.*)

INTELLECTUAL CO-OPERATION.

44. The ideas which underlie the Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation have never failed to appeal to Indian delegates at the Assembly. But during the initial and experimental period the measure in which practical effect has been given to these ideas has not corresponded with the hopes which had been formed. In 1929 it was felt that the time had come to overhaul the Organisation, and the energies of the International Committee at its last session had been mainly concentrated on this task. The Assembly was presented

with the recommendations of a committee of enquiry in the form in which they had been approved by the International Committee and by the Council of the League. These recommendations appear to be suitably adapted to the end in view, and it is hoped that a new phase in the work of the Organisation will be successfully inaugurated. The main principle is to restrict the subjects under treatment to those upon which the available resources can be effectively concentrated at any given time, and the Institute at Paris, which is the executive organ of the Organisation, will be used mainly to provide machinery for co-ordinating the work of national institutions, to effect contact between experts in different countries and to make known the results in a series of publications rather than to carry out original work on its own account.

45 Sri Jagadis Bose, whose services have been at the disposal of the International Committee for some years, ceased automatically this year to be a member of the Committee, and it is hoped that his place will be worthily filled when the Council of the League comes to fill the vacancies in the near future.

46. Speaking in the debate in the Second Committee, Sri D P Sarvadikary, whose speech is recorded in Appendix III, noted the absence in the report of any reference to civilisations outside Europe. Many of the ideas which seem to be new in Europe were old in Asia. India possessed resources that could well be utilised by the International Committee, and he had hopes that in the time to come it would be possible for India to co-operate fully with the Committee through the medium of the great intellectual forces of India. He welcomed particularly a suggestion bearing upon the organisation of study travel groups which would secure contact between teachers, scholars and students in Europe and other countries on the lines which had already been followed in the Health Organisation. He thought that one subject with which the Organisation might deal was the evils of objectionable cinema exhibitions. He regretted that during his short visit to Paris it had not been possible to get an adequate idea of the work of the Institute, and he hoped that when the reorganisation was complete a successful future would lie before it. The contribution of India to this work would be that of high ideals which, as the report pointed out were the real basis of all stability and peace. Unless the minds of the peoples were attuned to peace no instruments such as conferences and conventions would bring peace about, and he thought therefore that the Organisation for Intellectual Co-operation was one of the most important branches of the League.

47. When the report of the Second Committee came before the Assembly for adoption, Sri D P Sarvadikary repeated his views before a wider audience. He was glad that the League dealt not only with facts and realities, as the materialistic world would call them, but also with ideas, ideals, and sentiments; the League's work in this sphere must be adequately provided for if abiding peace was to be secured. The League of Nations for the last 10 years had been steadily gaining ground, but not quite on the right lines for lack of the appreciation of ideals. There was already contact between the League and India, but it was not sufficiently close or frequent. When better and intimate contact had been established, great results would ensue. The attempt to further establish world peace through understanding was evidence of the beginning of sanity, but to carry it further was a task which individuals and nations themselves could not carry out and international co-operation was essential. The fact that the Indian Delegation had been led last year by an Indian in high Government office, and was led this year by one of the Ruling Princes of India, showed that the Princes and peoples of India were coming together and trying to realise as far as possible the ideals of the League. In many matters India had contributions to make, but her greatest contribution must be in the region of intellectual co-operation. The saying that the East and the West would never meet was a misquotation and untrue in the highest sense, they were capable of being brought together if the plane on which they met was high enough, and it was on the level which they were then discussing that the East and the West should and could be united.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution —

The Assembly

Notes with satisfaction the reports of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the Governing Body of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation,

Expresses its gratification at the proposals made by the International Committee, in accordance with the suggestions of the Committee of Enquiry, to define its programme and to improve the work undertaken and the operation of the bodies responsible therefor.

It trusts that, after the contemplated reorganisation has been effected, the interest and the sympathy already displayed in the work of intellectual co-operation undertaken by the League of Nations will be extended, and that, in consequence, there will be increased contact and closer relations between qualified organisations and individuals as regards scientific studies and research work. It trusts that the Governments will give their help and support to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

It notes the progress made in the instruction of youth in the aims of the League of Nations, and requests Governments to keep the Secretariat and its Educational Information Centre informed of the steps taken in the various countries to give effect to the recommendations of the Sub-Committee of Experts.

It notes with satisfaction that the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation desires that there should also be an increase in the work of its Educational Information Centre in liaison with the associations dealing with instruction in the League of Nations, a task which it has entrusted to the International Institute at Paris.

It requests the Governments which have acceded to the Conventions concerning the international exchange of publications to furnish the material resources necessary for their national liaison bureaux to enable them to carry out the stipulations of these Conventions.

Having noted the report of the Governing Body of the International Institute of Educational Cinematography, the Assembly records its appreciation of the progress made and the manner in which the decisions of the Governing Body have been carried out by the Institute. It expresses its satisfaction with the development of the *International Review of Educational Cinematography* and requests Governments to give their sympathetic consideration to the draft Convention framed by this Institute for the abolition of Customs barriers which interfere with the distribution of educational films. It likewise requests them to lend their aid and support to this Institute. (*Resolutions adopted on 3rd October 1930.*)

COMMUNICATIONS AND TRANSIT.

48. On this subject the Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly :

Takes note of the work undertaken by the Organisation for Communications and Transit between the tenth and eleventh sessions of the Assembly and of the programme of work adopted by the Transit Organisation for the year following the eleventh session of the Assembly; and

Expresses its confidence that the Members of the League will do their utmost to assist in the development of this work and will, in particular, do everything in their power to ensure complete success for the international conferences which will be held under the auspices of the Transit Organisation between the present and the next session of the Assembly. (*Resolution adopted on 29th September 1930.*)

COMMITTEE III.—Reduction of Armaments.

DISARMAMENT.

49. As already mentioned, no session of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference had been held during the past year. The London Naval Conference had taken place and had resulted in an agreement between the British Commonwealth of Nations, the United States of America and Japan upon the question of substance and also with France and Italy upon the question of method. The agreement on the question of method cleared the way for further progress in the work of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference, but it had not been possible to arrange a meeting of the Preparatory Commission until November. Meanwhile, naval discussions were proceeding between the French and Italian Governments just before and during the Assembly, but these negotiations came to a standstill before the end of the Assembly. In his speech in the opening debate in the Assembly, Mr. Henderson had stated that the British Government regarded the obligation of disarmament contained in Article 8 of the Covenant as being as sacred as any other obligation arising out of the treaties of peace, and this declaration was warmly welcomed by the German Delegation and those associated with them.

50. The debate in the Third Committee turned on the question whether the Assembly should decide that the work of the Preparatory Commission must be completed at the session which was to begin in November, and whether it should determine without reserve that the Disarmament Conference itself must be held in 1931. The German Delegation and those associated with them pressed strongly for a categorical resolution in the sense of immediate and definitive action. The British Delegation, though second to none in their desire to proceed with disarmament, were unwilling to accept a motion which might result in the Conference being held before the preparations were complete and the atmosphere favourable.

51. In the end, the Third Committee adopted a resolution which noted that the results of the London Naval Conference were of a nature to facilitate a general agreement on methods at the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission, and which expressed the conviction that at its next session the Preparatory Commission would be able to finish the preparation of the draft Convention and would thus enable the Council to convene as soon as possible the Disarmament Conference.

52. When the report of the Third Committee and its resolution came before the Assembly, the German and Austrian Delegations announced that they would abstain from voting because the resolution failed to fix a date for the Disarmament Conference. These announcements were followed by a speech on behalf of France from M. Briand, who, in justifying the cautious attitude of France towards disarmament in the absence of a full guarantee of security, made discreet allusions to the results of the recent election in Germany, on account of which the French attitude had obviously for the time being hardened.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly has noted with satisfaction the results obtained at the London Conference and communicated to it by a letter from the President of that Conference dated 21st April 1930.

It considers that these results are of a nature to facilitate a general agreement on the occasion of the next meeting of the Preparatory Commission regarding the methods to be applied in the matter of the reduction and limitation of naval armaments.

It trusts that negotiations, pursued in a spirit of conciliation and mutual confidence and with the determination to arrive at practical solutions, will make it possible to complete and extend the work of the Naval Conference.

The Assembly accordingly expresses the conviction that, during its session next November, the Preparatory Commission will be able to finish the drawing up of a preliminary draft Convention and will thus enable the Council to convene, as soon as possible, a Conference on the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments.

The Assembly decides that the proceedings and the report of the Assembly regarding disarmament shall be forwarded to the Preparatory Commission. (*Resolution adopted on 30th September 1930.*)

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE.

53. The general nature of this scheme has been described in the reports of our predecessors. The delegation last year summarised the discussion of the Ninth Assembly and reported that the scheme had been referred back to the Financial Committee and the Committee on Arbitration and Security for reconsideration on certain points. These two Committees had settled most of the points at issue and the remainder were settled by the Third Committee of the Assembly, which also introduced certain improvements.

54. The most important questions were the degree in which the Convention should recognise the right to financial assistance of a State which was actually the victim of aggression, and the conditions under which loans should be granted when there was a threat of war, but not actual commencement of hostilities. In the first case, the right is recognised in the Convention unless the Council unanimously decides that a loan should not be granted. In the second case, the grant of a loan is subject to two conditions—namely, that one of the parties must have failed to conform to the steps taken by the Council, and, secondly, that the Council must be of opinion that peace cannot otherwise be safeguarded.

55. The British Delegation had decided to make their final accession dependent upon the conclusion of a Disarmament Conference. There was some opposition to the idea of introducing this into the Convention on the ground that the previous acceptance of the plan for financial assistance might be a factor facilitating disarmament. An article was eventually adopted making the operation of the plan for financial assistance dependent upon the entry into force and the maintenance in force of a plan for the reduction of armaments.

56. The Indian Delegation had raised in 1929 the question of the scale of contributions to the expenditure of the League, which was to be used for the distribution of guarantees under this plan. For reasons, the practical force of which we had to recognise, the Financial Committee found it impossible to provide in the Convention for the substitution of the revised scale of contribution when it comes into force for the present provisional scale. The Third Committee recognised the inconvenience to which a Government would be exposed if its scale of contribution to the expenditure of the League was proportionately reduced while its liability for guarantees continued to be determined by the old scale, but it was unable to go further towards meeting this difficulty than by observing that it will always be possible for a contracting party, before the Convention is renewed, to enter into negotiations with the other contracting parties if it desires the adoption of a new scale.

57. In the Third Committee Sir Denys Bray, the text of whose speech will be found in Appendix III, recalled the remarks of Sir Muhammad Habibullah last year and said that the attitude of India was one of sympathy, tempered with cautious reserve. Owing to her geographical position, India was unlikely to be concerned in the direct advantages which this Convention provided. It might not be very easy to justify in the Indian Legislature the assumption of further commitments in view of the lack of direct advantages. It might have been easier to recommend the adherence of India if the suggestion made last year regarding the basis of the distribution of the guarantees could have been adopted. Much would depend, moreover, on the degree of universality which the Convention might secure. If the Convention attracted support, not merely in Europe, but in Asia and elsewhere, India would probably desire to collaborate in such a world-wide contribution to the movement for the suppression of war.

58. The Convention was opened for public signature in the Assembly on the 2nd October, and was signed by 28 States, some with reservations. We did not sign. The non-signatories included Italy, Germany and Japan, together with several British Dominions and the majority of the non-European States.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions :—

The Assembly,

Taking note of the report submitted to it on behalf of the Third Committee;

Thanking the Financial Committee and the Committee on Arbitration and Security for the admirable work they have done to frame the Convention on Financial Assistance :

I. Approves the text of the said Convention which has been drawn up by the Third Committee;

Decides to open the Convention immediately for signature by the Members of the League;

Expresses the earnest hope that the Convention will be signed and ratified by all the Members of the League of Nations ;

Instructs the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps to bring the Convention officially to the notice of all States Members of the League that have not signed it before the end of the present session of the Assembly, in order that they may be able to do so on or before 31st December 1931, or to accede thereto after that date;

II. Considers it desirable that the scheme for Financial Assistance might be applied, when the case arises, without any delay;

Therefore asks the Council to instruct the Financial Committee to prepare drafts for the various documents referred to in the Convention that may be necessary for its entry into force, such as protocols, loan contracts, &c. (*Resolutions adopted on 29th September 1930.*)

CONVENTION TO STRENGTHEN THE MEANS OF PREVENTING WAR.

59. The Assembly of 1928 had adopted a draft text designed to serve as a model for bilateral or plurilateral arrangements. In 1929 the British Delegation proposed that this so-called model treaty should be converted into a general Convention for the adherence of as many as possible of the Members of the League. The Committee on Arbitration and Security had been instructed to recommend the modifications which would be necessary so to convert it; but the Committee had not been successful in producing a single text, and in important parts there were alternative drafts based on fundamentally different conceptions. The idea of the Convention was that on the occurrence of a dangerous international dispute, and while means for the pacific settlement of a dispute were under consideration, the Council could issue recommendations to the parties providing for some sort of armistice and for the avoidance of any aggravation of the circumstances, and that all parties should bind themselves in advance to accept and act upon such recommendations, thus converting a moral obligation into a treaty obligation. But difficulties had arisen in defining the terms upon which the parties would be prepared in any and every circumstance to surrender their liberty of action, and some parties, not relying solely upon good faith for the discharge of the obligations, wished to secure drastic provisions for supervision and sanctions. The Third Committee, faced with these differences of opinion, and after an attempt had been made to reconcile the differences in a Special Committee, came to the conclusion that the subject called for further study, and recommended that the Council should be invited to form a Special Committee to reconsider it and to submit a report for discussion at the next Assembly.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly,

Having considered the preliminary draft General Convention to Strengthen the Means of Preventing War, drawn up by the Committee on Arbitration and Security during its fourth session, held at Geneva in April and May 1930;

Being aware that the study of the question so far has shown that the transformation of the "model treaty" into a General Convention raises numerous and delicate problems:

Recognising, however, the degree of progress already made in reconciling the different points of view in regard to the preparation of the text of a "General Convention":

Decides that the study of this question should be continued, and consequently requests the Council to appoint a special Committee to draw up a report in sufficient time for submission to the twelfth ordinary session of the Assembly. (*Resolution adopted on 30th September 1930.*)

COMMUNICATIONS OF IMPORTANCE TO THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT TIMES OF EMERGENCY.

60. On this subject the Assembly adopted the following Resolutions.—

A.—*Regime applicable to Aircraft.*

The Assembly,

Recalling that the Members of the League of Nations are under the obligation to facilitate by all means in their power the working of the League;

Considering that the use of air transport may be necessary in times of emergency to enable the League to take rapid action to safeguard the peace;

Adopts the following resolution:—

1. It is necessary that the Members of the League, in order to discharge this obligation, should grant to aircraft used for air communications of importance for the working of the League all facilities for navigation and passage involved in the discharge of their missions. Such aircraft should enjoy all the rights granted by the most favourable conventional regime to Government aircraft other than military, Customs or police aircraft, and should at no time be subject to any exceptional and temporary restrictions that might be imposed on air navigation.

2. The conditions on which the various Governments will grant the facilities mentioned in the previous paragraph shall be laid down in advance by each of the Governments concerned, after consulting the Secretary-General of the League. In particular, the rules and routes to be normally followed by aircraft and the procedure contemplated for notifying the Secretary-General without delay of any changes in such rules and routes should be fixed in advance.

3. Aircraft used for communications of importance to the working of the League shall enjoy all facilities in regard both to supervision and to the routes to be followed.

4. Aircraft used for communications of importance to the working of the League within the meaning of the present resolution are aircraft permanently or temporarily engaged in conveying agents of the League or persons entrusted by the League with a special mission, or League correspondence, or official representatives of States Members of the League, or delegations to the Council, to the Assemblies and Conferences of the League, and the correspondence of such representatives or delegations.

5. The Secretary-General shall keep a list of the aircraft referred to in the foregoing article; he shall communicate this list to all the States Members of the League of Nations, with any modifications which may occur in this list.

In urgent cases, these communications would be telegraphed to the States concerned.

6. All detailed regulations regarding conditions of registration, communication of entries and cancellation of entries, identification marks on aircraft showing that they are on the service of the League, certificates and licences for the crew and other documents generally laid down by international conventions shall be laid down by the Council of the League of Nations after consulting the competent bodies, it being understood that the certificates of airworthiness and of competency and licences for the personnel on board and other documents generally prescribed shall be issued or rendered valid by a State in accordance with its law. The same shall apply, in cases in which the Council recognises this to be necessary, in regard to all provisions relating to aircraft assigned to the exclusive service of the League and not registered in any State.

7. Should aircraft used for communications of importance to the working of the League be required to fly over a State, the Secretary-General of the League will give that State due notice by suitable means of the identification marks of the aircraft, of the route to be taken and of the composition of the crew, and, whenever possible, will communicate in advance the names of the persons on board—the crew and the passengers to be provided with documents certifying their status and mission.

8. In the event of the aircraft mentioned above being in difficulties, the States whose territory is crossed will assist the crew and persons on board, if possible, to complete the journey by air, and, in any case, to carry out their mission as quickly as possible.

9. Each State shall retain the right to prohibit the whole or part of its territory being crossed by aircraft registered in another State or manned by a crew of foreign nationality, when such prohibition appears necessary for reasons of national safety. In such case, the State in question should do everything to ensure the transfer of the passengers as quickly as possible to an aerodrome or frontier point and the continuation of air transport under conditions to be determined by the negotiations referred to below.

10. With a view to the application of the foregoing provisions, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations will immediately undertake the negotiations which may be necessary with the Governments of the States Members of the League, and will report to the next Assembly on the steps taken to ensure the execution of this resolution.

11. The present resolution should not be regarded as in any way prejudging the question of the advisability of the League of Nations having aircraft of its own at its disposal.

B.—*Regime of Motor Transport.*

The Assembly,

Recalling that the Members of the League of Nations are under an obligation to facilitate by all the means in their power the working of the League;

Adopts the following resolution:

1. It is necessary that Members of the League, in order to discharge the above-mentioned obligation, should afford all facilities for the circulation of motor vehicles effecting transport of importance to the working of the League of Nations in times of emergency by placing at their disposal, as far as possible, an official representative of the country, with powers to facilitate the journey, the final choice of the route to lie with the authorities of the country traversed.

2. Motor vehicles effecting transport of importance to the working of the League of Nations are motor vehicles used to convey agents of the League or persons entrusted by the League with a special mission, or League correspondence, or official representatives of States Members of the League, or delegations to the Council, Assemblies and Conferences of the League, and the correspondence of such representatives, or delegations.

3. The motor vehicles defined above shall bear a distinctive identification mark, either a plate marked "S.D.N." or a flag. The driver and the persons conveyed must be in possession of official documents indicating their status and mission and signed by or on behalf of the Secretary-General of the League, or by or on behalf of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the country sending the mission. The driver shall also be provided with a document furnished by the authorities of the country from which the vehicle starts, indicating the destination of the vehicle and the proposed route.

4. The Secretary-General of the League shall inform by telegram the Government of the country to be traversed of the place where the frontier is to be crossed and the place of destination, and will endeavour to indicate the time when the frontier will be crossed and the names of the driver and persons conveyed.

5. Should the motor vehicle find difficulty in continuing its journey as the result of an accident or an incident on the road, or should the journey by car be begun after the persons concerned have entered the country by some other means of transport, the Governments must endeavour to place at the disposal of the missions a suitable vehicle and the necessary drivers, this vehicle to be regarded, from the time it is placed at the disposal of such a mission, as effecting transport of importance to the League of Nations.

6. The above-mentioned vehicles must be provided with the regular road-traffic documents. Governments shall, nevertheless, be requested to allow them free passage even in the absence of Customs documents.

7. With a view to the application of the foregoing provisions, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall immediately undertake the negotiations which may be necessary with the Governments of the States Members of the League, and shall report to the next Assembly on the steps taken to ensure the execution of the present resolution. (*Resolutions adopted on 30th September 1930.*)

PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE 18 OF THE COVENANT.

61. The Assembly decided not to proceed further with this proposal.

COMMITTEE IV.—Budget and Financial Questions.

THE BUDGET.

62. The total Budget approved in 1930 was 28,210,248 francs. The estimates for 1931, as presented in the main Budget, amounted to 29,966,436 francs. After the deduction of 795,822 francs capital expenditure on account of the new League wireless station decided upon in 1930, these estimates showed an excess on current expenditure over the preceding year of 969,366 francs. In addition to this the supplementary Budget for 1931 amounted to 1,951,995 francs, more than three-fourths of which was for carrying out the recommendations of the Committee on the Reorganisation of the Secretariat, &c. There were also supplementary estimates for proposals involving expenditure put forward during the session of the Assembly.

63. The increase naturally called for criticism, and in the general discussion which preceded the examination of the details there seemed to be a demand for economy on a wider scale than usual. A number of delegates referred to the prevailing stringency of national finance and to the disappointing results of the work of the League in the last year, and announced their intention of voting only for indispensable credits. But when the details came under examination there was in fact little scope for effective criticism and the estimates went through with more ease than usual.

64. A large part of the increase was due to the proposals for the reorganisation of the Secretariat, &c. This subject is dealt with separately, and it will suffice here to say that the changes actually sanctioned this year will cost some 300,000 francs less than the original estimate for the proposals put forward by the Committee.

65. The other main items which went to make up the excess were (1) new posts and gradings chiefly in the subordinate services, most of which were regarded as overdue; (2) increments of salary; (3) the operation and maintenance of the wireless telegraph station approved in 1930; (4) additional office accommodation imperative on medical grounds; (5) increase of the overseas work of the Health Organisation; (6) provision for the decisions of 1930 as to the remuneration of the Judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice. In view of the failure of the recent Conference for the Codification of International Law at The Hague, Sir J. C. Coyajee objected to the credit proposed for the continuance of this work in 1931. This objection was afterwards made effective by the decision of the First Committee, which has been reported above. When the estimates for the International Labour Organisation were before the Committee, Sir J. C. Coyajee stated, in pursuance of the wishes of the Government of India, that India abstained from any criticism of these estimates this year in view of the proposals which Sir Atul Chatterjee had submitted to the Governing Body of the Organisation for the standardisation of the International Labour Organisation Budget, and in the hope that some satisfactory arrangement on these lines would shortly be arrived at.

66. When the supplementary estimates came before the Fourth Committee it appeared that the Supervisory Commission proposed to cut down from 100,000 francs to 50,000 francs the credit for carrying out the enquiry on the economic crisis which had been approved by the Second Committee on the motion of the Indian Delegation. Sir J. C. Coyajee stated that the Indian Delegation was, of course, in favour of all reasonable economy, and, in particular, had always supported the authority of the Supervisory Commission; but the prosecution of the enquiry was important and urgent, and he wished to know whether the reduction of the estimate would have any serious effect on the time within which it could be completed. Other delegates spoke in the same sense, and when it transpired that the reduction of the estimate would delay the completion of the work and would merely involve a transference of the amount to be deducted to the estimates for 1932, the Fourth Committee decided, after a vote had been taken, to restore the original estimate.

67. Doubts were expressed by some delegates whether the Supervisory Commission was scrutinising the estimates of the League with the same vigour as in the past. The Supervisory Commission has possibly been somewhat discouraged by the general failure of the Assembly and its Committees to face the question of expenditure in a resolute spirit. The spokesman of the Supervisory Commission stated that the Commission had no authority to criticise or veto expenditure resulting directly or otherwise from the decisions of the Assembly itself; it could only supervise expenditure on measures decided upon by the Assembly and enlighten the Assembly on the financial implications of its programme. It is obvious that the attitude of the Supervisory Commission must be to some extent a reflection of that of the Fourth Committee.

68. The Budget for 1931, as finally approved, amounted to 31,637,501 francs, involving an increase of 3,427,253 francs on the Budget for 1930.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions:—

1. The Assembly, in virtue of Article 35 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations, finally passes the audited accounts of the League of Nations for the eleventh financial period ending on 31st December 1929.

2. The Assembly,

In virtue of Article 17 of the Regulations for the Financial Administration of the League of Nations : Passes, for the financial period 1931, the general budget of the League of Nations—of the Secretariat and Special Organisations of the League, of the International Labour Organisation and of the Permanent Court of International Justice—amounting, including supplementary credits, to the total sum of 31,637,501 gold francs ;

And decides that the aforesaid budgets shall be published in the *Official Journal*.

3. The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the various reports of the Supervisory Commission submitted for its consideration, except in regard to the proposed credits submitted by the Second Committee for the enquiry into the causes of the present economic depression.

4. The Assembly.

Approving the report of the special Committee of five members on the construction of the new buildings, fixes at 23,633,150 francs the credit for the construction of the Assembly hall and the building of the Secretariat :

Requests the Supervisory Commission to deal with all future financial questions which may arise in connection with the new buildings.

5. The Assembly appoints as members of the Supervisory Commission for the period ending on 31st December 1933, M. Stefan Osusky and M. Jean Réveillaud ; and as substitute members for the period ending on 31st December 1932, M. Jean De Modzelewski and M. Georges de Ottlik.

6. The Assembly adopts the conclusions of the report of the Fourth Committee. (*Resolutions adopted on 3rd October 1930.*)

MEMBERSHIP OF THE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION.

69. The Supervisory Commission consists of experts (Lord Meston is one of the number) who serve independently and on their own authority, and not as the representatives of the States of which they are nationals. Nevertheless, owing to the influence and importance of this body there has been a desire for some system providing for rotation of the appointments so that the nationals of as many countries as possible may share in the work. The Swiss Government proposed that members retiring after three years' service should be eligible for reappointment only after an interval of three years. This proposal was supported by several delegates. But there were fortunately other delegates who insisted upon efficiency based on continuous experience. A compromise was decided upon under which, with effect from 1931, members will be eligible for immediate reappointment for a second term of three years, but after six years' total service must wait another three years before they can be reappointed.

70. At a later stage the Assembly reappointed M. Réveillaud, who has served continuously for a number of years, and also M. Osusky, who retired last year after serving as Chairman for some time. The efficiency of the Commission is therefore assured for some years to come.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly :

1. Adopts the report of the Fourth Committee on the amendment to para. 3 of Article 1 of the Financial Regulations.

2. The Assembly, adopting the report of the Supervisory Commission on the rotation in membership of the Commission, requests the Fourth Committee, voting by secret ballot, to submit to the Assembly two names of persons to serve as regular members of the Commission until 31st December 1933 and two names of persons to serve as substitute members of the Commission until 31st December 1932. (*Resolution adopted on 30th September 1930.*)

REORGANISATION OF THE SECRETARIAT, &c.

71. It will be remembered that the Tenth Assembly appointed a Committee of 13 members, which included Sir A. Chatterjee, to examine "what steps should be taken to ensure in future, as in the past, the best possible administrative results for the Secretariat, the International Labour Office and the Registry of the Permanent Court of Justice." The report of the Committee was ready at the end of June. Addenda continued to appear even after the commencement of the Eleventh Session and became available to the delegates only in Geneva.

72. In such circumstances there was much to be said for postponing the consideration of proposals which, taken in their entirety, covered a wide field, and some of which were highly technical. But the pressure for immediate disposal of the subject could not be resisted. Practically all the proposals contained in the report, except those concerning the politically contentious question of the composition of the higher directing staff, were accepted. The Indian Delegation fought hard to secure time for expert scrutiny of the pensions scheme with special reference to the question whether a system of Provident Fund would not be a more appropriate and economical alternative, but did not receive enough support. The view that the pensions scheme should be brought into force from January 1931 finally prevailed.

73. The main features of the report and of the discussion thereon may now be set out.

(i) *International Character of the Secretariat.*

74. The Committee unanimously placed in the forefront of their report the principle that the officials of the Secretariat of the League of Nations are exclusively international, that their duties are not national but international, and that by accepting appointments under the League they pledge themselves to discharge their functions and to regulate their conduct in the interests of the League alone. Axiomatic as it may seem, this principle required reinforcement. The Indian Delegation gave it their emphatic adhesion in common with the representatives of other countries. The recommendations made by the Committee to amend the staff regulations to enforce this principle were unanimously accepted.

(ii) *Duration of Engagement of the Staff.*

75. The next point dealt with by the Committee was the duration of engagement of the staff. The majority, which included all the members except the German and the Italian, pronounced in favour of the principle of permanency, which they suggested should apply to all except the directing officers of the Secretariat, i.e. the Secretary, Deputy Secretary and Under Secretaries-General and Directors. The minority differed from the majority as regards chiefs of services and members of section whose status and duties resemble those of the higher national civil services. For this class the minority recommended renewable seven years' contract in order that contact with public opinion in the various countries belonging to the League might be maintained and provision made for representation in the Secretariat of all systems of civilisation. On this point the sympathies of the Indian Delegation were with the minority, though for different reasons. The objective of the minority was to establish a balance of power in the superior ranks of the Secretariat. The Indian view was that only by broad-basing recruitment for these branches of the Secretariat could their spirit and the outlook be made truly international. Mr. Bajpai, who acted for His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner for this subject, contended that this objective could best be secured by reserving an adequate proportion of posts in the first division to be filled on temporary contract by recruitment according to some principle of national rotation. In deference, however, to the view of the Secretary-General that the fixing of a proportion of posts to be filled by rotation would be unfair to those already in the service of the League, whose prospects of promotion would thereby be restricted, the proposal was not pressed. The intervention of the Indian Delegation, however, was not without result in that Sir Eric Drummond gave an assurance that, while not tying himself to any proportion, it would be his endeavour to select for posts in this division, as they fall vacant, nationals of countries which at present are inadequately represented in the Secretariat.

76. As regards the second and third divisions of the staff which are engaged upon work of a routine character and are for the most part locally recruited, the Indian Delegation saw no reason to differ from the unanimous conclusion of the Committee of Thirteen, which had the whole-hearted support of all the other delegations.

(iii) *The High Direction of the Secretariat.*

77. The question which involved the sharpest difference of opinion and gave rise to the most lively debates was that of the organisation of what may conveniently be termed the Directing Staff of the Secretariat. At present, this consists of a Secretary-General, who is of British nationality, a French Deputy Secretary-General, three Under Secretaries-General, who are nationals of Germany, Italy and Japan respectively, and six Directors and four Chiefs of Section. The majority of the Committee of Thirteen recommended the creation of five new posts of Under Secretaries-General in order to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the States Members of the League who are not permanently represented on the Council. They considered that such a result would not only be in consonance with the principle of equality of States and allay the discontent that now exists among the minor Powers at the virtual exclusion of their nationals from these responsible posts, but would also offer a wider field from which to draw the higher officials of the Secretariat. The minority, which comprised Count Bernstorff and Professor Gallavresi, recommended the addition of only one post of Under Secretary-General to the existing cadre, but sought to secure co-ordination among the Directing Staff by the formation of a committee consisting of the Under Secretaries-General, whom the Secretary-General would be bound to consult on all questions of importance. From the point of view of the countries whose nationals are either unrepresented on the Secretariat or hold only minor positions, the majority proposal was the more attractive. The interests of India, whose contribution to the expenses of the League is second only to that of the Powers permanently represented on the Council and who has much to gain by securing an effective chance of representation in the higher direction of the Secretariat, would obviously be better served by adoption of the majority than of the minority proposal. The Indian Delegation accordingly supported the majority view, even though it was clear that this would involve expenditure which perhaps could not strictly be justified on purely administrative grounds. The conclusion to remit consideration of the whole question of the higher direction of the Secretariat to a fresh Committee, which would report in time for the next Assembly to take decisions on it, really represents a compromise

between the two groups of great Powers, viz. Great Britain, France and Japan on the one hand, and Germany and Italy on the other. The minor Powers acquiesced in the conclusion, partly because, owing to the prevailing world economic depression, their representatives were reluctant to agree to the majority recommendation with its consequential increase of cost, and partly because some of them felt that a more economical solution of the difficulty might be found along the line of gradual abolition of the posts of Under Secretaries-General. On the new Committee India will be represented by Sir Atul Chatterjee. This satisfactory result was due to the useful work done by Sir Atul on the Committee of Thirteen and to recognition of the ability of India, in view of her experience of service questions, to contribute usefully to the solution of the outstanding problem. It is neither possible nor necessary to anticipate the recommendations of the new Committee. The Government of India will, it is hoped, have its report in good time to give instructions to the Delegation to the next session of the Assembly. With this object, the Indian spokesman on the Fourth Committee pressed for completion of the report by the 1st May and succeeded in getting this date adopted by the Fourth Committee.

(iv) *Pensions Scheme.*

78. The scheme of pensions which the Committee of Thirteen had unanimously proposed was adopted by the Assembly and will come into effect from the beginning of 1931. The revised estimate of its cost for the Secretariat, the International Labour Office and the Registry of the Court of International Justice is over a million francs. Strong support for the principle of pensions was forthcoming on the ground that pensions are an attribute of permanent service, and that the non-adoption of a pension scheme would be a breach of faith with the staff and a cause of uncertainty as to their future which would detract seriously from the efficiency of the League's servants. In our view, the first argument did not sufficiently take account of the fact that for a mixed system of permanent and temporary engagements, a Provident Fund was probably more appropriate than a system of Pensions. As to the latter argument we thought that the reasonable expectations of the staff in regard to adequate provision for maintenance after retirement could be achieved just as well by a system of Provident Fund as by a scheme of Pensions. The real grievance against the present Provident Fund maintained by the League is that the contribution made to it by the League is ungenerous. The Indian Delegation contended that the Assembly had a duty to the States Members to satisfy itself that provision for the legitimate requirements of the staff was being made with full regard for economy, and along lines that had the approval of experts. The Draft Pension Regulations which the Committee of Thirteen had prepared could not really be said to satisfy either of these conditions, and the estimates of cost that were put forward were admittedly incomplete. The draft regulations were examined by a Sub-Committee of the Fourth Committee, but this Sub-Committee had no mandate for a radical examination of the problem and confined itself to points of detail. The result was the adoption of a scheme, of which the merits are doubtful. It is hoped that future Indian Delegations will watch its effect on the budget of the League with care. Indeed, we would suggest that a special annual report on the operation of the scheme should be asked for. Should experience reveal that the scheme is administratively unsound or financially extravagant, a special inquiry into its working could be legitimately demanded.

79. Two comparatively minor points arising out of the report of the Committee of Thirteen may finally be mentioned. The majority had recommended the creation of a number of posts of Counsellor on increased salary to compensate heads of section for the loss of prospects of promotion to the post of Director which the principle of filling such posts on the basis of nationality might entail. This proposal, as well as the suggestion of the Secretary-General, that while the rank might be given at once as a mark of honour the question of attaching a higher salary to the bearer of the title might be postponed, was rejected. But the equally sound objection to removing the distinction between members of sections A and B of the First Division of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office at considerable additional cost did not receive the support of the Fourth Committee.

80. The debates in the Fourth Committee on the report of the Committee of Thirteen were prolonged and often lively. There was no lack of interest in the proceedings, either on the part of the members or that of the audience. But the popular interest was mainly political and inspired by the knowledge that over the difference between the majority and minority views there would be a tussle between the Great Powers. The representatives of other countries on the Committee, in so far as they were not pledged to support the protagonists of the majority or minority view for political reasons or jealous of the predominance of the nationals of these Powers in the Secretariat, were concerned mainly with avoiding addition to the already heavy budget of the League. Those who concentrated upon examining what was primarily an administrative problem with a single eye to administrative efficiency found themselves in a minority. But the insufficiency of the time allowed for calm and careful examination of reports covering a wide and sometimes technical field must bear the main share of the responsibility for this state of affairs. The need of allowing

more time for consideration of the League's reports requiring action must be repeatedly emphasised if the danger of hasty decisions based on incomplete scrutiny is to be avoided. Mr. Bajpai's speeches on this subject will be found in Appendix III.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly,

Having had before it the report submitted by the Committee of Enquiry (hereinafter referred to as the "Committee of Thirteen") appointed by the last Assembly to consider what steps could be taken to ensure, in the future as in the past, the best possible results in the administration of the Secretariat, the International Labour Office and the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Justice;

Having examined the separate reports submitted by some members of that Committee and attached to the Committee's report;

Having considered the report submitted by the Secretary-General to the Committee of Thirteen together with notes from the Secretary-General, the Director of the International Labour Office and the Registrar of the Permanent Court of International Justice on the financial consequences of the proposals contained in the Committee's report:

(1) Approves the general obligations of the staff as defined in chapter 1 of Part II of the report of the Committee of Thirteen with the amendments proposed by the Fourth Committee;

(2) Approves the rules upon the duration of engagements of the staff contained in chapter 2 of Part II of the report of the Committee of Thirteen with the amendments proposed by the Fourth Committee;

(3) Requests the Secretary-General to incorporate in the Staff Regulations the amendments proposed in the present report and approved by the Fourth Committee;

(4) Instructs the Secretary-General to amend the Staff Regulations in accordance with the proposals of the Fourth Committee and requests him to submit the new Regulations to the next Assembly;

(5) Notes the statements made by the Director of the International Labour Office and the Registrar of the Permanent Court to the effect that they will, within the same period, adapt to their respective organisations the principles laid down by the Fourth Committee;

(6) Approves the Staff Pensions Regulations and instructs the Secretary-General to take all necessary measures to ensure their application as from 1st January 1931;

(7) Requests the General Committee of the Assembly to appoint a Committee of . . . members to consider the retention or elimination, the increase or reduction of the posts of Under Secretary-General, as well as the consequences resulting therefrom. All cognate questions which the Committee thought it necessary to adjourn in the course of its work shall be referred to that Committee. The latter will be requested to submit a report not later than 1st May 1931 so as to make it possible for its conclusions to be examined in due time by the Governments of the States Members of the League of Nations and submitted to the next Assembly; and

(8) Approves this report and adopts its conclusions. (*Resolution adopted on 3rd October 1930.*)

CONTRIBUTIONS IN ARREARS.

81. On this subject the Assembly adopted the following Resolution:—

The Assembly,

Notes the steps taken by the Secretary-General with a view to the recovery of arrears;

Authorises the Secretary-General to accept the payment of the arrears of China by equal instalments over a period of 20 years;

Requests the Secretary-General to submit to the Council before the next Assembly a detailed report on the position with regard to contributions in arrears. (*Resolution adopted on 3rd October 1930.*)

C. COMMITTEE V.—Social and Humanitarian Questions.

OPIUM AND DRUGS.

82. The principal work of the League during the past year had been the preparations for the Conference on the Limitation of the Manufacture of Drugs. The Advisory Committee had drawn up a plan and the procedure was to include (1) the collection of the necessary statistical and other information, (2) a preliminary conference of drug manufacturers, and (3) a limited conference for the negotiation of a Convention for which the Council had already issued invitations to 25 States.

83. This procedure was not being carried out as rapidly as the Assembly of last year had hoped, as the Manufacturers' Conference could not be held until the month following the Assembly and the final Conference had been fixed for May 1931. In addition to the plans for the limitation of manufacture, there were various other aspects of the subject under discussion.

84. In the course of the general debate Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, whose speech is reproduced in Appendix III, said that the limitation of manufacture could not come too soon or be too effective so far as India was concerned. In spite of energetic preventive measures, India suffered greatly from illicit imports, and after the sacrifices she had made in connection with the export of opium, she expected responsive action from the countries of manufacture. He mentioned some leading facts and figures in regard to the success of the policy pursued in India in recent times for the reduction of the cultivation and consumption of opium, and added that certain internal problems which were of domestic rather than of international concern were receiving careful attention. India was waiting for the manufacturing countries to take practical measures to discharge the obligations

which they had already accepted under the Conventions, and that India herself was ready to fall in with any plan for limitation, provided only that it was practical and effective. While disappointment might be felt at the delay which had occurred, he maintained that the foundations had been soundly laid by the Advisory Committee, and that impatience must not be allowed to interfere with the essential preparatory work. He mentioned the difficulty which arose from the development of manufacture in countries which were not members of the League and not parties to the decisions of the League, in particular in Turkey. It was a regrettable and alarming fact that restrictions in certain countries tended to drive the evil further afield and that the recent developments in Turkey, if they continued, might undermine any arrangements that might be agreed to among other countries for the limitation of manufacture. He thought that while the conclusion of an agreement for the limitation of manufacture must be the principal work of the League in the immediate future, efforts in other directions should not be relaxed, and he supported the view of the Dutch delegate that it was necessary to rely upon, and maintain in full vigour, the machinery of the Geneva Convention. He referred to the observations of the Advisory Committee as to the importance of centralised police work in each country, and of international co-operation between the national police services. After mentioning the enquiry which had recently been conducted in India as to the advantages and methods of centralised police activity in regard to the illicit traffic, and the possibility that a Central Information Bureau would be created in India, he expressed a hope that the Japanese Government would be prepared to accept a suggestion which was being made to them, that personal contact and consultations should be established between the Japanese and the Indian authorities. He referred to the passage in the report of the Advisory Committee which gave details of the various brands of cocaine seized in the illicit traffic in India and other places in the Far East. Most of it was apparently of Japanese origin, and he expressed dissatisfaction that firms whose products had been frequently found in the illicit traffic should still be licensed to manufacture, and that the sources of certain notorious brands should still remain a mystery. He expressed some surprise that the Japanese Government had not been able to supply an authoritative figure for legitimate internal consumption of cocaine, and said that until this figure was available there must be grave suspicions as to the destination of the bulk of the cocaine manufactured in Japan, and there would be no means of estimating the sufficiency of the decision announced last year to reduce the manufacture of cocaine in Japan by 10 per cent. for four years. Having regard to these facts, he appealed to the Japanese delegate to represent strongly to his Government the necessity for early and effective action. He recognised that new and stricter regulations had been introduced in Japan, and hoped that these would be strictly applied. In reference to the increase in the size of the Advisory Committee from 14 to 21 members, he expressed the hope that when the mandate of the new Committee expired in three years' time, the phase of activity upon which the League was now engaged would have been successfully terminated, and that it would then be possible to restore the Advisory Committee to a more reasonable size. The Advisory Committee had done excellent work in establishing and giving publicity to the facts and in recommending sound and practical measures of control. If that work had not yet produced its full fruits, the fault lay with the Governments rather than with the Committee. Finally, he expressed the hope that the Committee would continue to enjoy the confidence of the States Members.

85. Speaking later in the debate, the Japanese delegate said that he himself deplored the smuggling which took place. Owing to defects in the Japanese regulations it had not so far been possible to trace the sources of the traffic. These defects had been remedied in the revised regulations, and the Japanese authorities hoped that their inquiries would be more successful in future. He said that the amount of cocaine manufactured in 1929 in Japan was 1,215 kilogrammes, this being more than 200 kilogrammes less than the amount manufactured in 1928. The Japanese Government had estimated the legitimate consumption in 1929 in Japan proper and in Japanese territories as being a little over 1,000 kilogrammes, though it was not yet possible to say whether this was the normal amount of consumption. He gave further figures to show that the surplus unaccounted for was about 1,700 kilogrammes, which included the quantities held by retailers and doctors and others licensed to keep and dispense cocaine for medical and scientific purposes. He maintained that the basis on which medical practice was organised in Japan justified the retention of a comparatively high quantity of the drug in the hands of retailers and dispensers. Finally he said that the Japanese authorities were endeavouring to place drugs under severe control so that leakage into the hands of smugglers would become impossible, and that in this work they would do their best and would co-operate with other Governments so far as the international side of the question was concerned.

86. The most important and controversial matter which was discussed in the Committee was the nature of the Conference to be held for the limitation of manufacture in May next. As already mentioned, the Assembly of 1929 had decided after much discussion that the Conference was to be of a limited and not of a general character, and the Council had already issued invitations to 25 States. The manufacturing countries are only about 10 in number, and as the essential purpose of the Conference is to secure the acceptance of obligations to limit manufacture by those States, there were strong reasons for restricting the attendance

of non-manufacturing States. Nevertheless, the proposal for a general Conference was revived and strongly pressed, on the plausible but not really convincing ground that all States are interested as consumers. The Indian Delegation, with a few others, attempted, but without success, to resist the strong current of opinion which was created in favour of a general Conference. Eventually the Committee decided, after a vote from which we abstained, to convert the Conference arranged for May next from a limited into a general Conference. We fear that the prospect of a successful issue of the Conference has not been improved by this decision.

87. Another subject of discussion was a resolution submitted by the Chinese delegate for an inquiry to be carried out by the League into the nature of the extent and methods of the illicit traffic in drugs. This resolution seemed to fail to take account of the work which the League had already done for years past through the Advisory Committee with a large measure of success. Eventually the resolution was modified and elaborated, and in its final form it may succeed in extracting information from countries which have so far failed to co-operate with the League in this respect, without at the same time imposing any new administrative burden on countries like India which have already furnished regular and plentiful information. The resolution also asks that the Advisory Committee should report on the possibility of collecting estimates of the number of drug addicts in each country, together with information as to the varieties and quantities of the drugs which they consume. In the nature of things this inquiry will be of a somewhat unpractical nature and its results cannot be very complete or reliable. Nevertheless, the demand for such an inquiry was insistent.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolutions :—

I. The Assembly views with grave concern the enormous illicit traffic in narcotic drugs in various parts of the world.

It recalls the measures which have been repeatedly advocated by the Advisory Committee for the investigation of cases of illicit traffic, for communication of information, and the rendering of mutual assistance between the investigating authorities in the different countries, and for the reporting of full particulars to the League.

It also recalls that these measures have been unanimously approved by the Council and the Assembly. It is impressed by the fact that these measures are not in all cases fully applied by Governments.

Accordingly, in order that the League of Nations and the interested Governments may, in co-operation with each other, devise effective measures for the suppression of illicit traffic, the Assembly instructs the Secretary-General to invite the Governments of States Members and non-Members of the League of Nations, to take the following measures :—

(a) The Governments of countries where the measures recommended by the League are not as yet being fully applied should review the arrangements in force in their countries and take whatever action is necessary to ensure the full application of the measures referred to.

(b) If such action has not already been taken, thorough investigation covering the last three years should be made and full information communicated to the Secretary-General, if possible within the next three months, with regard to the following questions :—

- (1) Kind and quantity of drugs involved in illicit transactions ;
- (2) Origin of the drugs, marks, labels, &c. ;
- (3) Moments and places at which the drugs entered the illicit traffic ;
- (4) Where drugs were shipped or forwarded and names of shipping or forwarding agents or consignors ;
- (5) Destination, or address of consignees ;
- (6) Methods used and routes followed by smugglers, and names of ships, if any ;
- (7) Seizures made on the territory of the respective Governments which are important, either because of the quantities involved or because of the light thrown by them on the working of the administrative system of control ;
- (8) Action taken by the Governments in each case of seizure in regard to persons involved, particularly those possessing authorisations or licences, penalties imposed, and method of disposal of seized drugs ;
- (9) Any other matter which would assist in the suppression of illicit traffic.

Further, the Assembly requests the Advisory Committee to study and report to the Council upon the question whether Governments should be asked to indicate, as far as it is possible for them to do so, either in their annual reports or by means of an answer to a special questionnaire, the approximate number of persons in their country addicted to each type of drug, the approximate amounts of such drugs consumed, and the methods of treatment employed.

II. The Assembly decides that all States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations be invited to be represented at the Conference on the Limitation of the Manufacture of Dangerous Drugs, which is to be held at Geneva in May 1931. (*Resolutions adopted on 1st October 1930.*)

TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

88. The work of the League in this field is a valuable example of the effects which can be produced, not by creating obligations, but by the convincing analysis of essential aims and by mutual enlightenment as to the experience of different countries in securing these aims. The facts which have been collected have shown that the traffic is dependent upon certain factors (as, for instance, the system of licensed houses), and the experience of those Governments who have succeeded in removing or mitigating those factors is placed at the disposal of those who have still to do so. Governments are therefore, to an increasing extent, ..

placed in the position of knowing both what to do and how to do it. Evidence of the fruitfulness of this procedure accumulates each year, and this year was no exception. It is now recognised, as proved by experience, that the licensed house system is not justified as a means of protecting public order and health, and that the abolition of the system, which is essential to the suppression of the traffic, can be carried out without disadvantage in other directions.

89. It is due to the provision of funds by the American Bureau of Social Hygiene that an inquiry has been undertaken in the East similar to the inquiry which recently took place in Europe and America, and a Travelling Commission of three members, chosen by the Council, has started for the East with the object of ascertaining the facts on the spot. The procedure which has already produced valuable results in the West has therefore now been applied to the East.

90. The Fifth Committee had no decisions to take on this subject this year, but in the course of its review of the year's work it had occasion to note the encouraging statements made relative to progress in the abolition of the licensed house system, and it recorded its approval of the information which is being compiled and distributed as to the laws and regulations of many countries on various aspects of the social problem. Sir D. P. Sarvadikary joined in the general expressions of approval of the League's work in this sphere and of the spirit of moderation and of "hastening slowly" which animated the efforts of the Advisory Commission. He associated himself with the representative of Japan in emphasising the necessity for dealing with questions of this sort with due regard to the peculiar circumstances and atmosphere of the countries concerned. He welcomed the appointment of the Travelling Commission and hoped that when in due course it came to India its visit would be fruitful of results, but he expressed the opinion that the international traffic was practically non-existent in India. He referred specially to the question of the cinema and its influence on morals, and he thought that, as in the case of manufactured drugs, it was necessary to deal with this question in the country of origin as well as in that of exhibition, great harm was being done in Eastern countries by cinema exhibitions which showed European life in an undesirable light. He believed that in certain communities there were so-called marriage laws which permitted of an undesirable state of affairs; it was a matter of great delicacy to deal with this subject with due regard to local susceptibilities and legitimate local customs, but nevertheless such problems should be radically investigated with a view to the removal of all abuses.

The text of Sir D. P. Sarvadikary's speech will be found in Appendix III.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution —

The Assembly notes that, during the last years, several countries have, in accordance with the recommendations of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee, entirely abolished or taken new steps towards the abolition of the system of licensed houses.

The Assembly trusts that the study on laws and regulations with a view to protecting public order and health in countries where the system of licensed houses has been abolished, prepared by the Secretariat, which has been forwarded to the Governments of States Members and non-Members of the League, will be of great value for the competent authorities in these countries.

It welcomes the enquiry which is to take place in the East on the traffic in women and children, and thanks the American Bureau of Social Hygiene for the generous gift of \$125,000 towards this end.

It takes note of the report of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee and expresses its great satisfaction with the work carried out during the last year, and hopes that it will be continued on the same lines (*Resolution adopted on 30th September 1930.*)

CHILD WELFARE.

91. On this subject the Assembly adopted the following Resolution —

The Assembly takes note of the Child Welfare Committee's report on the work of its sixth session and trusts that the Committee will continue its work on the lines therein prescribed (*Resolution adopted on 29th September 1930.*)

PENAL ADMINISTRATION

92. This question has hovered on the border-line of League activities for some time, but it was for the first time definitely on the Agenda of the Assembly this year. In January last the Council had authorised a procedure for collecting the views of the International Prison Commission and the Howard League for Penal Reform as to what aspects of the question could advantageously be dealt with internationally through the League, and after that for consulting the International Labour Office, the Economic Committee, the Health Committee and the Child Welfare Committee. It was made clear in the Council that these preliminary studies were to refer only to the collection of information.

93. The Secretary-General presented a report which showed that this procedure was not complete and that the full material would not be available until next year. In these conditions there had been no opportunity of consulting the Government of India, and it was not even known in advance whether the aspects of penal administration which might be

recommended as suitable for treatment through the machinery of the League related to matters of domestic concern or were restricted to international matters such as the treatment of foreign prisoners.

94. The British delegate, Miss Susan Lawrence, brought forward a resolution recommending to the favourable consideration of Governments certain standard minimum rules for the treatment of prisoners which had been prepared by the International Prison Commission and asking for reports on these rules with reference to the situation in each country; the resolution also proposed the appointment of a Committee to confer with the International Prison Commission as to the best way in which the League might co-operate for the development of prison administration in accordance with modern standards. In its original form this resolution seemed to go too far. In the first place, while we were aware that the Government of India belonged to the International Prison Commission and had therefore had an opportunity of considering the standard minimum rules, we did not know whether, or to what extent, they had concurred in the rules or whether they would wish the Assembly to give the rules any measure of endorsement. It also seemed doubtful whether a procedure should be approved which might to some extent prejudice the general question of the League taking up domestic matters of penal administration in any form. We also felt that the practice of seeking decisions on points of substance in subjects which Governments, as a whole, had had no opportunity of adequately considering was one to be resisted in the absence of any consideration of urgency.

95. We had some preliminary discussion with the British Delegation, who were good enough to modify their draft resolution in a direction which partly met our objections. Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadikary therefore felt justified in supporting the modified draft with some reservations. The text of his speech will be found in Appendix III. He said that though the Government of India was one of the members of the International Prison Commission, it had not had any opportunity of considering the proposals contained in the resolution and that the Indian Delegation was therefore without instructions in regard to them. He could not commit the Government of India in so far as the resolution might amount to a recommendation of the standard minimum rules, but he thought that there could be no objection to simply circulating the rules to the Governments for consideration and report. The question of penal administration was for the most part purely national, but there might be aspects that would make it more than national, and if violence was done to humanitarian principles international principles must certainly prevail. How far this might be the case in any individual country would have to be considered when the information had been collected. He then referred to the situation as regards penal administration in India and the improvements which had been made or were awaiting the provision of financial resources. It was felt in India that further reforms were overdue, but that was not a matter which concerned the League. He was therefore prepared to accept the British draft resolution on the clear understanding that it implied nothing beyond the collection of information, and that, owing to the shortness of time, he could not accept any obligations on the part of the Government of India.

96. Eventually, the resolution was revised by a sub-committee in the light of various criticisms passed by other delegations, and, in its final form, it seemed to us unobjectionable, and the whole subject will be open for unprejudiced discussion next year when Governments will have had full opportunity of considering it.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly,

In view of the Secretary-General's report on improvements in penal administration and of the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners drafted by the International Prison Commission;

Requests the Council to communicate the above Rules to the Governments of States Members and non-Members of the League of Nations for their consideration and to invite those Governments to furnish, in due course, a report on the said rules with reference to prison administration in their own countries;

Requests the Secretary-General to submit the said Rules of the International Prison Commission to the International Labour Office, the Health Committee, the Economic Committee, the Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People, the "Association internationale de Droit pénal" and the "Union internationale de Droit pénal" and to confer with representatives of the International Prison Commission for the purpose of considering the best way in which the League of Nations can co-operate with that Commission for the improvement of prison administration.

The Secretary-General is requested to submit a further report on the question to the next Assembly.
(Resolution adopted on 29th September 1930.)

COMMITTEE VI.—Political Questions.

MINORITIES.

97. This question has not been discussed by the Sixth Committee for some years. This year it was referred to the Sixth Committee on the motion of the German Delegation, and the object of the German Government was apparently rather to secure that the minority administration should be the subject of annual review by the Assembly than to bring up

concrete controversies for decision. There was some difference of opinion expressed as to the jurisdiction of the Assembly in regard to the execution of the minority treaties, but no one questioned the right of the Assembly to debate the subject of minorities generally. It was agreed that the procedure introduced by the Council in 1929 was an improvement on that which had previously been in force, and, although it was the subject of criticism, no one demanded that it should be revised pending further experience of its application. The view that the existence of the minority treaties and their application were having a beneficial, though indirect, effect upon the treatment of minorities whose rights are not safeguarded by treaties, seemed to meet with general support. The debate was admirable, both for its courageous thoroughness (for the subject strikes at the root of post-war Europe) and its temperate character. Attention was called to the services which the representatives of non-European countries, acting as rapporteurs to the Council on minority questions, had rendered to the cause of a good understanding among the European peoples. As the report presented to the Assembly by the Sixth Committee said, "the main idea brought out by the debates was co-operation between majorities and minorities.. Majorities must be just and generous and minorities must be loyal. Governments must constantly endeavour to smooth the way for mutual understanding and confidence and for co-operation between the majority and the minority."

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly took note of the Report of the Sixth Committee. (*Resolution adopted on 30th September 1930.*)

MANDATES.

98. In the debate it was generally agreed that the Mandatory Powers had been materially assisted by the Mandates system in achieving considerable progress in all branches of administration in the territories entrusted to their charge, especially in native policy and the suppression of abuses in connection with the liquor traffic. The Assembly was sufficiently confident of the success of the system to suggest that the experience gained through it might be of great value for the administration of other territories in which conditions were similar. On particular points the Sixth Committee expressed satisfaction at the improvement of the position in Palestine, and noted with approval the undertaking given by the British Government to provide the Mandates Commission with an opportunity of making observations on whatever decisions the British Government might come to in regard to the scheme for closer union in East Africa before such decisions became operative.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly, having taken note of the work accomplished by the mandatory Powers, the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Council in regard to the execution of Article 22 of the Covenant :

(a) Renews the expression of confidence in them voted by the past sessions of the Assembly and congratulates them on what has been achieved through co-operation between them ;

(b) Expresses its gratification at the restoration of order and peace in Palestine, and trusts that the measures taken by the mandatory Power will prevent the recurrence of such events as occurred in 1929 :

(c) Again expresses the hope that, through the prosecution of the joint efforts of the mandatory Powers, the Council and the Permanent Mandates Commission, the mandate system may continue to ensure the achievement of the ideal of civilisation proclaimed in Article 22 of the Covenant. (*Resolution adopted on 30th September 1930.*)

REFUGEES.

99. This work has been and indeed still is of considerable humanitarian and economic value. But it is of the essence of the problem that it should be liquidated without avoidable delay. It has hitherto been dominated by the personality of Dr. Nansen, and his lamented death has increased the necessity for providing adequately for the gradual completion of the task. There is in existence a large organisation which, after a period of comparative independence, was for some years placed under the International Labour Organisation and was last year transferred temporarily to the Secretary-General. It is financed partly by a League grant (at present 333,800 gold francs), partly by fees charged for identity documents and partly from private funds. The work of the Sixth Committee was to consider and take decisions on the recommendations of the Inter-Government Advisory Commission as to future arrangements. For various reasons the Organisation as a whole was not found suitable for absorption into the Secretariat of the League. There are two main aspects of the work, that which relates to legal protection, civil rights and the status of refugees, and that which relates to their maintenance, relief and employment. The first will, in future, be part of the duties of the Secretariat. For the second aspect, an International Refugees Office will be created under the direction of the League in accordance with Article 24 of the Covenant. The League will grant towards the expenses of this Office a diminishing subsidy, which for 1931 will be at the same figure as that for 1930 stated above. The Office is to draw up a systematic plan for liquidating the work by the end of 1939. The League has been fortunate in securing the services of M. Max Huber, President of the International Red Cross Committee and former President of the Permanent Court of International Justice, to take charge of the new office.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly,

(1) Recalling the work accomplished by Dr. Fridtjof Nansen on behalf of the refugees and mindful of his efforts to unite the nations in the cause of peace, pays a solemn tribute of gratitude to the memory of one of the best servants of the League;

(2) Notes the reports of the Secretary-General and the Inter-Governmental Advisory Commission for Refugees;

(3) Decides to entrust to the regular organs of the League of Nations the political and legal protection of the refugees under the conditions indicated by the Inter-Governmental Commission;

(4) Decides to entrust, during the period in which the Refugee Organisation is being wound up, the humanitarian duties hitherto undertaken by the High Commissioner to an International Refugees Office placed under the direction of the League of Nations, in accordance with the principles of Article 24 of the Covenant;

(5) Entrusts to M. Max Huber, whom it thanks for his willingness to undertake the duty, the work of preparing, in accordance with the guiding principles laid down in the report of the Inter-Governmental Advisory Commission, a draft statute for the International Office, which will be submitted for approval to the Council of the League of Nations, and requests him to take over the duties of Chairman of the Governing Body of the Office;

(6) Grants the International Office for 1931 a subsidy of 333,800 gold francs;

(7) Draws the attention of Governments to the importance of a general extension of the system of Nansen stamps;

(8) Leaves the Office full freedom to take all decisions in regard to appeals for funds made to private charity, particularly on behalf of refugee children;

(9) Expresses the desire that one of the first tasks of the Office should be to examine the situation of Armenian refugees in Greece;

(10) Requests the Council to communicate to Governments the recommendations adopted by the Inter-Governmental Advisory Commission in regard to the application of the Inter-Governmental Arrangements and the situation of Russian refugees who are disabled ex-service men; and

(11) Recommends that the International Office should, as far as possible, make use of the experience of the present staff of the Refugee Service. (*Resolutions and Recommendation adopted on 30th September 1930.*)

SLAVERY.

100. The Slavery Convention of 1925 has not produced all the results that were hoped of it. Slavery still exists in certain countries which have not yet adhered to the Convention, and all attempts to obtain the application of the Convention in those countries have, so far, been unsuccessful. The special effort made in pursuance of the Assembly resolution of 1929 to obtain information from Governments as to the slavery which continues to exist had had meagre results. In these circumstances the British Government, which had been responsible for the promotion of the Convention of 1925, brought forward proposals for the creation of new machinery to deal with the subject. They proposed that a Permanent Slavery Organisation should be instituted on the lines of the Permanent Mandates Organisation, to consist of a Standing Committee of independent authorities and a permanent Bureau or Secretariat, to collect material for the Commission to prepare its reports and to attend to the execution of its recommendations.

101. We felt constrained to oppose this suggestion because the results that might be expected from such an Organisation were hardly likely to justify the recurrent cost. After a preliminary debate in the Sixth Committee, in which the Indian Delegation did not find it necessary to take part, the proposal was referred to a Sub-Committee, on which Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan was appointed to serve. Long discussions took place in the Sub-Committee, and he then found a convenient opportunity to explain India's position. In the course of doing so he expressed on behalf of the Government of India full sympathy with the object in view and referred to the recent expeditions in Burma.

102. The original British proposal met with little support and was replaced by another that the League should convene a meeting of experts chosen in the same way as the Temporary Slavery Commission, which had drafted the Convention of 1925. Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan felt justified in supporting this proposal, as, although it was doubtful whether such a meeting would be fruitful in its results, its cost would have been small and non-recurrent.

103. The modified British proposal failed to secure a majority, and after various alternatives had been examined the Sub-Committee adopted by a majority a proposal of the Portuguese Delegation, which noted that the information so far furnished by Governments was not sufficient to give an accurate idea of the present situation, postponed consideration of any changes in the existing procedure till next year, and invited the Governments to amplify the information already supplied, not only in regard to the conditions prevailing in their own territories, but also in regard to the present general position on the subject of slavery.

104. This proposal was eventually approved by the majority of the Sixth Committee and by the Assembly, although the British delegate expressed dissatisfaction and stated that the British Government would press for further activity on a later occasion. The course of the discussion certainly indicated that the countries in whose territories or colonies social conditions of a primitive nature still survive, are still very cautious in their attitude towards any movement from outside in the direction of the improvement of those conditions.

The Assembly adopted the following Resolution :—

The Assembly,

Having taken note of the communications received from a large number of Governments in pursuance of the resolution of the Tenth Assembly;

Observing that the number of ratifications of the Convention of 25th September 1926 has risen in one year from 29 to 34, but that the information furnished by the States Members of the League has not so far been such as to give an accurate idea of the present general situation in regard to slavery;

Desiring, however, to wait until next year for the results of the procedure now in force:

Postpones, provisionally, consideration of any possible changes in this procedure; and

Invites the States Members of the League and States non-Members to amplify the information they have already given by furnishing all such particulars as may assist the Assembly to form an idea, not only of the conditions that prevail in their own territories, but of the present general position in regard to slavery. (*Resolution adopted on 30th September 1930.*)

IMPROVEMENTS IN THE MATERIAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR SESSIONS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

105. The following Resolution was adopted on the report of the General Committee on the above subject :—

I. The Assembly adopts the present report by the General Committee and subject to the observations made therein, approves the reports of the special Committee of Five.

II. The Assembly decides that Rule 1, para. 1. of its Rules of Procedure shall be amended to read as follows :—

"The Assembly shall meet in general session every year at the seat of the League of Nations commencing on the second Monday in September, provided that the second Monday does not fall later than the 10th. If the second Monday falls later than the 10th, the session will begin on the first Monday. (*Resolutions adopted on 25th September 1930.*)

106. It only remains for us, in concluding our Report, to express our high sense of the honour and responsibility which devolved upon us as representatives of India at the Assembly of the League of Nations, and our appreciation of the co-operation which we received from our colleagues, Sir D. P. Sarvadikary, Sir Denys Bray, and Sir J. C. Coyajee, who served as assistant delegates.

(Signed)	GANGA SINGH, Maharajah of Bikaner.
	ZULFIQAR ALI KHAN.
	EWART GREAVES.
	B. K. MULLICK.

1st April 1931.

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APPENDIX I.

List of States represented and their Delegates. (Many Delegations were also accompanied by Expert Advisers.)

ABYSSINIA.—His Excellency le Négadras Makonnen (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London). His Excellency Count Lagarde, Dne d'Entotto (Minister Plenipotentiary, High Counsellor, Diplomatic Abyssinian Representative accredited to the League of Nations). Ato Ayèle Sebhat (Secretary at the Legation in Paris).

ALBANIA.—His Excellency M. Mehdi Frasher (Minister for National Economy). M. Demètre Beratti (Director of the Political Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. Lec Kurti (Resident Minister, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

AUSTRALIA.—The Right Hon. J. H. Scullin, P.C., M.P. (Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs). The Hon. Frank Brennan, M.P. (Attorney-General). Mr. P. E. Coleman, M.P.

Substitutes.—Sir Robert Garan, K.C.M.G., M.A. (Solicitor-General). Miss May Alice Holman, M.L.A.).

AUSTRIA.—His Excellency Dr. Johannes Schober (Federal Chancellor of the Austrian Republic). His Excellency M. Albert Mensdorff-Pouilly-Dietrichstein (former Ambassador). His Excellency M. Emerich Pfügl (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Austrian Representative accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency Dr. Max Hoffinger (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary accredited to the Swiss Confederation).

Substitutes.—Dr. Richard Schüller (Head of Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Professor at the University of Vienna, Member of the Economic Committee of the League of Nations). Dr. Markus Leitmaier (Legal Adviser at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

BELGIUM.—His Excellency M. Paul Hymans (Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. P. E. Janson (Minister for Justice). Viscount P. Pouillet (Minister of State, former Prime Minister). Count H. Carton de Wiart (Minister of State, former Prime Minister).

Substitutes.—Baron Moucheur (Honorary Ambassador). Baron Edouard Rolin-Jaequemyns (Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, former Minister for the Interior). M. Fernand J. van Langenhove (Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. J. Mélot (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary). M. Henri Rolin (Legal Adviser at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. O. Louwers (Colonial Adviser at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. Max R. L. M. Suetens (Director of Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. Lucien Cooremans (Lawyer attached to the Brussels Court of Appeal, Private Secretary to M. Hymans).

BOLIVIA.—His Excellency M. Adolfo Costa du Rels (Minister Plenipotentiary, former Minister for Finance, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Alberto Cortadellas (former Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

BRITISH EMPIRE.—The Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P. (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs). The Right Hon. William Graham, M.P. (President of the Board of Trade). The Right Hon. Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, K.C. Miss Susan Lawrence, M.P. (Parliamentary Secretary, Ministry of Health).

Substitutes.—Mr. Hugh Dalton, M.P. (Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs). Mr. Charles Roden Buxton, M.P. Mrs. Mary Hamilton, M.P. Professor P. J. Noel Baker, M.P.

BULGARIA.—His Excellency M. Athanase Bouroff (Minister for Foreign Affairs and Religion). His Excellency M. Vladimir Molloff (Minister for Finance).

Substitutes.—M. Dimitri Mikoff (Chargé d'Affaires in Switzerland, Permanent Bulgarian Representative accredited to the League of Nations). Madame Constance Liaptcheff.

CANADA.—The Right Hon. Sir Robert Laird Borden, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C., D.C.L., LL.D. (former Prime Minister, former President of the Privy Council, former Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs). The Hon. Joseph Amable Thomas Chapais, LL.L., LL.D. (Senator, Member of the Legislative Council of Quebec). The Hon. Mrs. Mary Irene Parlby, M.L.A. (Minister without Portfolio, Province of Alberta).

Substitutes.—The Hon. Philippe Roy, C.P., M.D. (former Senator, Minister in France). Mr. Walter A. Riddell, M.A., Ph.D. (Dominion of Canada Advisory Officer accredited to the League of Nations). Lieut.-Col. George P. Vanier, D.S.O., M.C. (Canadian Representative on the Permanent Advisory Commission for Military, Naval and Air Questions).

CHILE.—His Excellency M. Enrique Villegas (Ambassador in London, former Prime Minister, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Luis V. de Porto-Seguro (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin). His Excellency M. Jorge Valdés-Mendeville (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Brussels and Berne).

CHINA.—His Excellency Dr. Chao-Chu Wu (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, former Member of the Government Council, former Chairman of the Judicial Council, former Mayor of Canton). His Excellency Général Tsiang Tso-Ping (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berlin and Vienna, former Member of the Government Council, former Vice-Minister for War, former President of the Anhui Provincial Government). His Excellency M. Kao-Lou (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, Member of the Council of Education, former Member of the Kiangsu Provincial Government).

Substitute and Secretary-General.—His Excellency Dr. Woo Kaiseng (Minister Plenipotentiary, Director of the Permanent Office of the Chinese Delegation to the League of Nations, Chargé d'Affaires at Berne, former Legal Adviser at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Substitutes.—M. Lone Liang (Counsellor at the Legation in Berlin). Dr. Scié Ton-Fa (First Secretary at the Legation in Paris). M. Dekien Tung (Chargé d'Affaires in Vienna).

COLOMBIA.—His Excellency Dr. Francisco José Urrutia (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, former President of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland). M. Alfonso Lopez (Senator). M. Agustín Nieto Caballero (Principal of "Modern Gymnasium," Bogota).

CUBA.—His Excellency Dr. Orestes Ferrara (former President of the Chamber of Deputies, Ambassador at Washington). His Excellency M. Aristides de Agüero y Bethancourt (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin). His Excellency M. Guillermo de Blanck (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Carlos de Armenteros (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne). His Excellency M. J. A. Izquierdo (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Rome). M. R. Hernández Portela (Counsellor at the Legation in Paris).

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.—His Excellency Dr. Edvard Beneš (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Dr. Stephen Osusky (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris). His Excellency M. Zdeněk Fierlinger (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

DENMARK.—His Excellency Dr. Peter Munch (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Count Carl Moltke (Chamberlain, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Dr. Laust Moltesen (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. F. J. Borgbjerg (Minister for Public Education, Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

Substitutes.—Le Pasteur Th. Povlsen (former Minister for Religion, Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Holger Andersen (Member of the Chamber of Deputies). His Excellency M. Ove Engell (Minister Plenipotentiary, Head of the Economic Affairs Division at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. W. Borberg (Permanent Danish Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). Mme. Henni Forchhammer (President of the Danish National Council of Women, Honorary Vice-President of the International Council of Women).

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC.—M. Emilio García Godoy (Chargé d'Affaires in Paris).

ESTONIA.—His Excellency M. Jaan Lattik (Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Chamber of Deputies). M. A. Piip (Professor at the University of Tartu, former Head of State. M. Auguste Schmidt (Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs).

FINLAND.—His Excellency M. Hjalmar J. Procopé (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Rafael Eich (former Prime Minister, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Stockholm). His Excellency M. Rudolf Holsti (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Aarne Wuorimaa (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Tallinn). M. Kyösti Järvinen (Professor at the Commercial High School at Helsinki, former Minister for Finance and Commerce). Mme. Tilma Hainari (President of the National Council of Finnish Women). M. Hugo Valvanne (Counsellor of Legation, Director of Political Affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. Ensio P. Hiitonen (Head of the League of Nations Office at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. Evald Gyllenbägel (First Secretary at the Legation at Berne and at the Permanent Delegation accredited to the League of Nations).

FRANCE.—His Excellency M. Aristide Briand (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. Pierre Laval (Senator, Minister for Labour and Social Insurance). M. Pierre-Etienne Flandin (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Minister for Commerce and Industry).

Substitutes.—M. Georges Pernot (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Minister for Public Works). M. André François-Poncet (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Under Secretary of State for National Economy). M. Robert Sérot (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Under Secretary of State at the Ministry for Agriculture).

GERMANY.—Dr. Julius Curtius (Minister for Foreign Affairs). Count Johann-Heinrich Bernstorff (former Ambassador). Dr. Friedrich Gaus (Director at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

Substitutes.—Dr. Rudolf Breitscheid (Member of the Reichstag). Dr. Hoetzscher (Professor of Law, Member of the Reichstag). Dr. Ludwig Kaas (Professor of Theology, Member of the Reichstag, Canon and Domestic Prelate to His Holiness the Pope). Dr. Koch-Weser (former Minister for Justice and the Interior, Member of the Reichstag). Baron Rheinbaben (Member of the Reichstag, former Secretary of State).

GREECE.—His Excellency M. E. Vénisclós (President of the Council of Ministers). His Excellency M. A. Michalakopoulos (Vice-President of the Council of Ministers, Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Nicolas Politis (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris). M. A. Papadatos (Under Secretary of State in the Prime Minister's Department).

Substitute.—M. R. Raphaël (Chargé d'Affaires at Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

GUATEMALA.—His Excellency M. José Matos (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Court of Arbitration at The Hague).

HAITI.—His Excellency M. Dantés Bellegarde (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris).

Substitute.—M. Jean Clovis Kernisan (Doctor of Law of the Faculty in Paris, Graduate of the School of Political Sciences, Counsellor of Legation, former Chargé d'Affaires in London).

HUNGARY.—His Excellency Count Albert Apponyi (former Minister). His Excellency General Gabriel Tánczos (former Minister). His Excellency Baron Joseph Szterényi (former Minister).

Substitutes.—Comtesse Albert Apponyi. His Excellency M. L. Gajzágó (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary). His Excellency M. A. de Nickl (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary). M. Paul de Hevesy (Resident Minister, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). M. J. Pálényi (Counsellor of Legation). Baron Gabriel Apor (Counsellor of Legation, Political Director at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. Georges de Ottlik (former Attaché to Embassy). M. László Levente Kádár (Ministerial Counsellor).

INDIA.—Lieut.-Gen. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., K.C.B., A.D.C. Nawab Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Kt., C.S.I. (Member of the Indian Legislative Assembly). Sir W. Ewart Greaves, Kt. (former Judge of the High Court, Calcutta). Sir Basanta Knmar Mallick, Kt. (Member of the Council of India).

Substitutes.—Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhyacry, Kt., C.I.E., C.B.E. (former Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, former Member of the Council of State, former Member of the Legislative Assembly). Sir Denys de Samurez Bray, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., C.B.E. (Member of the Council of India). Sir Jehangir Cooverjee Coyajee, Kt. (Professor at Presidency College, Calcutta, Member of the Council of State).

IRISH FREE STATE.—Mr. Ernest Blythe (Vice-President of the Executive Council, Minister for Finance). Mr. John M. O'Sullivan (Minister for Public Education). Mr. John A. Costello (Attorney-General).

Substitutes.—Mr. Daniel A. Binchy (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin). Count Gerald O'Kelly de Gallagh (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Paris). Mr. Sean Lester (Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

ITALY.—His Excellency M. Dino Grandi (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Professor Vittorio Seialoja (Minister of State, Senator). His Excellency Count Lelio Bonin-Longare (Minister of State, Ambassador, Senator).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Giuseppe de Michelis (Ambassador, Senator). M. Stefano Cavazzoni (Senator, former Minister for Labour). General Alberto de Marinis Stendardo di Ricigliano (Senator).

JAPAN.—His Excellency M. Tsuneo Matsudaira (Ambassador in Great Britain). His Excellency M. Kenkichi Yoshizawa (Ambassador in France, Japanese Representative on the Council of the League of Nations). Viscount Tadashirō Inouye (Member of the House of Peers, former Minister for Railways).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Naotaké Sato (Minister Plenipotentiary, Director of the Japanese League of Nations Office). His Excellency Viscount Kintomo Mushakoji (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Norway). His Excellency M. Shichitaro Yada (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland). His Excellency M. Nobutarō Kawashima (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Greece). M. Nobumi Ito (Counsellor of Embassy, Assistant Director of the Japanese League of Nations Office). M. Shigenori Togo (Counsellor of Embassy).

LATVIA.—His Excellency M. Hugo Celmins (Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Germain Albat (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Secretary-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Charles Duzmans (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Prague and at Belgrade). His Excellency M. Jules Feldmans (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitutes.—M. Arveds Bergs (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, former Minister). His Excellency Dr. Alfred Bilmans (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Director of the Press Bureau at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

LIBERIA.—Dr. Antoine Sottile (Doctor of Law, Chargé d'Affaires, Permanent Delegate of Liberia accredited to the League of Nations).

LITHUANIA.—His Excellency Dr. Dovas Zaunius (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Vencelas Sidzikauskas (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Berlin). Mme. S. Cimrionis.

LUXEMBURG.—His Excellency M. Joseph Bech (Minister of State, Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Emile Reuter (Honorary Minister of State, President of the Chamber of Deputies). M. Gaston Diderich (Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Burgomaster of the city of Luxembourg).

Substitutes.—M. Charles Vermaire (Consul at Geneva). M. Albert Wehrer (Doctor of Law, Governmental Adviser).

NETHERLANDS.—His Excellency le Jonkheer F. Beelaerts van Blokland (Doctor of Law, Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency le Jonkheer J. Loudon (Doctor of Political Science, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Hendrik Colijn (Minister of State, former Minister for Finance, Member of the Second Chamber of the States-General). Le Jonkheer W. J. M. van Eysinga (Doctor of Law and Political Sciences, Professor at the University of Leyden).

Substitutes.—M. Joseph Limburg (Doctor of Law, Member of the Council of State, former Member of the Second Chamber of the States-General). M. L. J. A. Trip (Doctor of Law, former Treasurer-General at the Ministry for Finance, former President of the Bank of Java). M. J. P. A. François (Doctor of Law and Political Science, Head of the League of Nations Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Extraordinary Professor at the School for Higher Commercial Studies at Rotterdam). Raden Adipati Ario Soejono (former Regent of Pasoeroean, Member of the Committee of Deputies of the "Volksraad" of the Netherlands Indies).

NEW ZEALAND.—Sir Thomas Mason Wilford, K.C.M.G., K.C. (High Commissioner in London).

Substitute.—Mr. C. Knowles.

NICARAGUA.—M. Tomas Francisco Medina (Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

NORWAY.—His Excellency M. Joh. Ludwig Mowinckel (Prime Minister, Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. Carl Joachim Hambro (President of the Storting, Chairman of the Committee for Foreign Affairs of the Storting). Dr. Christian L. Lange (Secretary-General of the Inter-Parliamentary Union).

Substitutes.—M. P. L. Kolstad (Member of the Storting, Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Storting). Mme. Ingeborg Aas (Doctor of Medicine). Dr. Frede Castberg (Professor of Law). Dr. Arnold Raestad (Doctor of Law, former Minister for Foreign Affairs).

PANAMA.—His Excellency Dr. Octavio Mendez-Pereira (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris and London). Dr. Ernesto Hoffmann (Consul-General at Geneva).

PARAGUAY.—His Excellency Dr. Ramon V. Caballero de Bedoya (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France).

PERSIA.—His Highness Mirza Mohammed Ali Khan Foroughi (Minister for Foreign Affairs, former Prime Minister). His Excellency Hussein Alâ (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris, former Minister). His Excellency Anouchirvan Khan Sépahbodji (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitutes.—Colonel Ali Khan Riazi (Military Attaché in Paris). Dr. Parviz Khan Kitabji (Doctor of Law, Legal Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

PERU.—M. José-Mariá Barreto (former Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

POLAND.—His Excellency M. Auguste Zaleski (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. François Sokal (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Hipolit Gliwic (Vice-President of the Senate, former Minister for Commerce and Industry).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. Jean de Modzelewski (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne). His Excellency M. Witold Chodzko (Director of the State School of Hygiene at Warsaw, former Minister for Health). Professor Michel Rostworowski (former Chancellor of the University of Cracow, Member of the Court of Arbitration at The Hague). His Excellency M. Marjan Szumlakowski (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Director of the Bureau of the Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Adam Tarnowski (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Sofia). M. Antoni Roman (Head of the Economic Bureau at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

PORUGAL.—His Excellency le Commandant Fernando Augusto Branco (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency Dr. Augusto de Vasconcellos (former Prime Minister, former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Director of the Portuguese Service accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency Dr. José Capelo Franco Frazao, Comte de Penha Garcia (former Minister for Finance, former President of the Chamber of Deputies, Member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration). His Excellency Dr. Vasco de Quevedo (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne and accredited to the League of Nations).

ROUMANIA.—His Excellency M. Georges Mironesco (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Nicolas Titulesco (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Virgil Madgearu (Minister for Industry and Commerce). His Excellency M. Constantin Antoniade (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitutes.—His Excellency M. J. Lugosianu (Under Secretary of State in the Prime Minister's Department, former Minister for Public Instruction). His Excellency M. Dinu Cesianu (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris). Mlle. Hélène Vacaresco (Member of the Roumanian Academy).

SALVADOR.—His Excellency Dr. J. Gustavo Guerrero (former Minister for Foreign Affairs, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France).

SIAM.—His Highness Prince Varuvaidya (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in London, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations). His Excellency Phya Abhibal Rajamaitri (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Rome).

SOUTH AFRICA.—General the Hon. J. M. B. Hertzog (Prime Minister, Minister for External Affairs). The Hon. N. C. Havenga (Minister for Finance). Mr. C. T. te Water (High Commissioner in London). Mr. D. J. de Villicrs (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at The Hague). *Substitute.*—Major F. F. Piernaar, D.T.D., O.B.E. (Permanent Representative of the Union accredited to the League of Nations).

SPAIN.—His Excellency M. José Quiñones de León (Spanish Representative on the Council of the League of Nations). His Excellency M. Ednardo Cobán (former Under Secretary at the Ministry for Finance, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

Substitute.—His Excellency M. Cristóbal Botella (Doctor of Law, Legal Adviser to the Embassy in Paris, President of the Franco-German Mixed Arbitral Tribunal, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies). His Excellency M. Leopoldo Palacios-Morini (former Under Secretary at the Ministry for Finance, former Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Professor at the University of Madrid, Director of the Social School). His Excellency M. Julio Casares (Head of Section at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Royal Spanish Academy).

SWEDEN.—His Excellency Baron S. G. F. T. Ramel (Minister for Foreign Affairs). Professor B. Oesten Undén (Chancellor of the University of Upsala, former Minister for Foreign Affairs). M. A. F. Vennersten (President of the First Chamber of the Riksdag, former Minister for Finance).

Substitute.—Dr. T. M. Höjer (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Oslo). M. K. I. Westman (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Berne). M. Eric C. Boheman (Director of Political Affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs).

SWITZERLAND.—His Excellency M. Giuseppe Motta (Federal Councillor, Head of the Political Department). M. Gottfried Keller (Member of the Council of States). M. Hermann Schüpbach (Member of the National Council).

Substitute.—M. William Rappard (Professor at the University of Geneva). M. Roger Dollfus (Member of the National Council). M. Walter Stucki (Director of the Commercial Division, Member of the Economic Committee of the League of Nations).

URUGUAY.—His Excellency Dr. Alberto Guani (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France). His Excellency M. Pedro Cosio (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Germany). M. José G. Antuña (former Member of the Chamber of Deputies).

Substitute.—His Excellency Dr. Alfredo de Castro (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Switzerland).

VENEZUELA.—His Excellency M. Cesar Zumeta (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in France). His Excellency Dr. Diogenes Escalante (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Great Britain). His Excellency Dr. C. Parra-Pérez (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Italy).

YUGO-SLAVIA.—His Excellency M. Voislav Marinkovitch (Minister for Foreign Affairs). His Excellency M. Jelko Majouranitch (Doctor of Law, Minister, unattached). His Excellency M. Ilia Choumenkovitch (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Permanent Delegate accredited to the League of Nations).

Substitute.—M. André Gosar (former Minister for Social Insurance, Professor at the University of Belgrade). His Excellency M. Constantin Fotitch (Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary, Director of Political Affairs at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs). M. Milan Todorovitch (Professor at the University of Belgrade). General Michel Nénadoviteh (Delegate to the Permanent Advisory Commission for Military, Naval and Air Questions of the League of Nations).

APPENDIX II.

Reports of Committees to the Assembly, &c.

ANNEX I.—*Report of the First Committee on Amendment of the Covenant of the League of Nations with a view to bringing it into harmony with the Pact of Paris.*

The First Committee, after considering the report drawn up by the Sub-Committee which it had appointed, has approved this report and unanimously decided to submit to the Assembly the draft resolution proposed by the Sub-Committee.

REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE.

The Tenth Assembly of the League of Nations adopted, on 24th September 1929, the following resolution :—

“The Assembly :

“Taking note of the resolution submitted to it on 6th September on behalf of various delegations to the effect that, in view of the large measure of acceptance obtained by the Pact signed at Paris on 27th August 1928, whereby the parties renounced war as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another, it is desirable that Articles 12 and 15 of the Covenant of the League of Nations should be re-examined in order to determine whether it is necessary to make any modifications therein ;

“Taking note also of the resolution proposed by the Peruvian Delegation on 10th September recommending that a report should be obtained as to the alterations which were necessary in the Covenant of the League in order to give effect to the prohibitions contained in the Pact of Paris :

“Declares that it is desirable that the terms of the Covenant of the League should not accord any longer to Members of the League a right to have recourse to war in cases in which that right has been renounced by the provisions of the Pact of Paris referred to above ;

“Instructs the Secretary-General to communicate to all the Members of the League a copy of the amendments to the Covenant of the League which have been proposed for this purpose by the British Government, together with such further papers as may be necessary ;

“Invites the Council to appoint a Committee of 11 persons to frame a report as to the amendments in the Covenant of the League which are necessary to bring it into harmony with the Pact of Paris. This Committee should meet in the first three months of 1930, and in the course of its work should take into account any replies or observations which have been received from the Members of the League by that date. The report of the Committee will be submitted to the Members of the League in order that such action as may be deemed appropriate may be taken during the meeting of the eleventh ordinary session of the Assembly in 1930.”

A Committee of 11 jurists, appointed by the Council at its session in January 1930, in execution of this resolution, met at Geneva from 25th February to 5th March 1930, with M. Scialoja in the chair.

On 8th March 1930 it submitted a report containing most carefully framed proposals for amendments.

This report and its proposals were referred to the First Committee with a view to the examination of that important item of its agenda—the question of amendments to the Covenant.

After a very thorough general discussion, the First Committee, on the proposal of M. Rolin and M. Politis, appointed a Sub-Committee to consider the political as well as the judicial aspects of the problem of bringing the League Covenant into harmony with the Paris Pact. The Sub-Committee was also instructed to consider what changes, if any, should be made in the proposals of the Committee of Jurists, and to state in its report whether it considered the question to be ripe for decision this year.

The Sub-Committee, with M. J. Limburg (Netherlands) in the chair, held seven meetings.

I.

The study of the amendments to the Covenant proposed by the Committee of Jurists or, during the Assembly, by the various delegations led the Sub-Committee to draw up, as a compromise and provisionally, the following proposals :—

Preamble.

In conformity with the proposals of the Committee of Eleven, instead of :—

“In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,”

the Sub-Committee proposes :—

“In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by accepting the obligation not to resort to war.”

Article 12, paras. 1 and 2.

The Sub-Committee adopted the following wording :—

“1. The Members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will in no case have recourse to war for the settlement of the dispute, and will only employ pacific means for this purpose. If the dispute cannot be otherwise settled, it shall be submitted either to arbitration or judicial settlement or to enquiry by the Council.

"2. The award of the arbitrators or the judicial decision shall be given and the report of the Council shall be made within a reasonable period."

I. The text which embodies the condemnation of resort to war in the case of a dispute likely to lead to a rupture does not differ in substance from that adopted by the Committee of Jurists. The judicial commentary submitted in this connection by the Committee of Jurists is accordingly not affected.

II. Nevertheless, the order and arrangement of the provisions of the new Article 12 are different from those adopted in the text proposed by the Committee of Eleven.

Instead of commencing with the undertaking to employ only pacific means for the settlement of a dispute likely to lead to a rupture and then enumerating the various forms of pacific procedure which could be chosen if the "disagreement" continued, and stating only at the end of the first paragraph the undertaking in no case to resort to war, the new Article 12 begins by excluding resort to war if a dispute likely to lead to a rupture arises between Members of the League, and lays down as a correlative that only peaceful means shall be employed for the settlement of such disputes. The enumeration of the various forms of pacific procedure between which the nations concerned may choose if the "disagreement" continues has, therefore, been relegated to the third sentence of the Article.

This new text is clearer and more logical.

III. The Sub-Committee, like the Committee of Eleven, considered that there was no reason to omit para. 2 of Article 12, the utility of which continues, and is even increased with the extension of forms of pacific procedure and the importance of their success from the standpoint of world peace.

Nevertheless, a unification has been accomplished; all tribunals, including the Council, are bound to reach a decision or make a report within a reasonable time.

Article 13, para. 4.

The Sub-Committee adopted the following text:—

"The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith the award or decision rendered in a dispute to which they have been parties. They further undertake in no way to support a State in refusal to carry out an award or decision. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award or decision, the Council shall propose what measures of all kinds should be taken to give effect thereto; the votes of the representatives of the parties shall not be counted."

I. In the new draft proposed by it for the beginning of Article 13, para. 4, the Committee of Eleven had retained the undertaking by the Members of the League to carry out in full good faith the award or decision rendered, but had substituted in the same sentence, in the place of the original undertaking—now useless—"not (to) resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith," the undertaking "not to take any action against any Member of the League which complies therewith."

The Sub-Committee considered it desirable not to merge in a single provision, but to enunciate in two consecutive sentences of the same paragraph, the positive obligations which rest upon the parties to the dispute and the general obligation (negative in character) of full good faith which, on pronouncement of the award or decision, become incumbent upon all the other Members of the League. The provision which, in the first draft, had in view the relations of these Members with a State which complies with the award or decision has been reversed; it now deals with the attitude of these Members in regard to a refractory State, the refusal of which to carry out the award or decision they agree not to encourage.

II. The Sub-Committee unanimously recognised—what the report of the Committee of Eleven had already emphasised—the cardinal importance of ensuring that the award or decision rendered should, whatever the circumstances, be carried out. Any failure of the League in this field would have incalculable consequences and must be guarded against.

The Committee did not feel that it should go beyond the proposals of the Committee of Eleven in regard to the exclusion of the votes of the parties and to the question as to the manner in which the Council should take its decision—unanimously or by a simple majority, in accordance with Article 5 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

III. The text of Article 13, para. 4, proposed by the Committee of Jurists in order to define the part to be played by the Council was adopted in its entirety by the Sub-Committee.

The Sub-Committee unanimously recognised that a "constitutional duty" devolved upon the Council to ensure execution, when requested to do so by the State which, having had an award or decision pronounced in its favour, was faced by a persistent refusal on the part of the other party to carry out that award or decision. It was agreed that the French phrase "*Le Conseil propose*" and the English "It shall propose" are imperative and constitute a recognition of the Council's responsibilities in such a case.

IV. It is within the power of the Council to resort, if necessary, to third States, in order to apply to a refractory State measures likely to secure compliance with the award or decision, and it is for the Council to indicate such measures, as also the time at which they are to be applied.

Proposals made by the Council to States which have not yet become parties to the dispute are different in character from injunctions to a State which refuses to comply with the award or decision, the latter being imperatively and absolutely bound by such an award. Members of the League which have not yet become parties to the dispute are entitled, for their part, in virtue of the general principles of Article 5, to send a representative to the Council should the question of their possible participation in the measures contemplated by it arise. At the same time, if presented with a recommendation by the Council, it is their moral duty to comply with it.

V. As noted in the Jurists' report, the proposed text obviously guarantees the right of States to proceed by themselves to execution of an award or decision rendered in their favour.

The only question remaining open is that of the limits within which the State in whose favour the award or decision has been rendered must restrict itself. It appears in accordance with the general desire to accept the view that the principle of prohibition of resort to war laid down in the Preamble applies to the case. The lack of sufficient certainty on this altogether new point of international law should be an additional inducement for the successful State to resort to the Council, and for the Council to propose measures for the execution of the award or decision.

Article 15, para. 6.

"If the report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Council shall invite the parties to comply with the recommendations of the report. The Members of the League undertake in no way to support any party in refusal to comply with such recommendations."

I. The amendment to Article 15, para. 6, of the Covenant proposed by the Committee of Eleven aimed principally at giving the Council's unanimous resolutions a binding character, comparable to, if not identical with, that of arbitral awards or judicial decisions. The Sub-Committee endeavoured to discover whether, under present circumstances, it could propose to the Assembly this important modification of the system established by the Covenant.

Doubts were expressed on this point in several quarters. It was pointed out that the Council was a political organ and, as such, should retain an elasticity and a freedom of decision which might be impeded and hampered if its recommendations were recognised as binding. The very nature of its task would thus, it was said, be changed, for it would act no longer as mediator but as an arbitrator, and sometimes this might even make it more difficult to secure unanimous agreement.

In these circumstances, the Sub-Committee returned to the original principles established by the Covenant.

II. The existing text of Article 15, para. 6, of the Covenant has only been modified in so far as was rendered inevitable by the need to substitute for the restrictions it contained with regard to the possibility of legal war, a text in accordance with the principles of the Paris Pact.

The amendments made consist, first of all, in the provision that "the Council shall invite the parties to comply with the recommendations of the report." The word "invite," which does not appear in the present text of para. 6, is only a slight strengthening of the force of the conclusions of a unanimous report; it emphasises what already existed in virtue of para. 4.

Secondly, the Members of the League undertake "in no way to support any party in refusal to comply with such recommendations." This obligation upon third States has been substituted for the present obligation not to go to war with the State which complies with the recommendations, for the reasons explained in connection with Article 13.

III. Both from the point of view of the Council and from that of the States which are parties to a dispute, the proposals to which the Sub-Committee has felt it should restrict itself differ from the conclusions of the Committee of Eleven in that it is no longer possible to assimilate the effects of the recommendations of a unanimous report by the Council to those of an arbitral award or judicial decision.

The analogy which remains is the undertaking in both cases on the part of third States Members of the League in no way to support any party in refusal to comply with the Council's recommendations: this undertaking would naturally be confined to cases in which the other State had failed to comply with its obligations under Article 12.

Article 15, para. 7.

"If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, it shall examine the procedure best suited to meet the case and recommend it to the parties."

The Sub-Committee maintained without any modification the text of the amendment to Article 15, para. 7, proposed by the Committee of Eleven.

Article 15, para. 7 bis.

The text proposed by the Committee of Eleven was follows:—

"At any stage of the examination, the Council may, either at the request of one of the parties or on its own initiative, ask the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion on points of law relating to the dispute. Such application shall not require a unanimous vote by the Council."

As the obligatory character of the Council's unanimous recommendations has not been retained, it was thought that the principal reason which existed for the insertion of this supplementary provision in the Covenant, and which would have justified its maintenance, no longer remained.

Article 16, para. 1, first sentence.

The Sub-Committee confined itself to putting forward the following draft:—

"Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Article 12, it shall, *ipso facto*, be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League. . . ."

The change made is merely suppression of the reference to Articles 13 and 15 which in the Covenant followed the reference to Article 12. This reference was justified by the fact that those two Articles contained partial prohibitions of resort to war, whereas, with the new draft, Article 12 contains a general prohibition of resort to war.

The proposal to alter Article 16 still further, with the object of limiting the application of sanctions, was not adopted.

II.

After completing the first part of its task, which was to examine what changes it might be desirable to make in the proposals of the Committee of Eleven, having regard to the political and the legal aspects of the problem of bringing the Covenant of the League of Nations into concordance with the Pact of Paris, the Sub-Committee had still, under its terms of reference, to pronounce upon whether the question seemed to it to be ripe for final decision this year.

On this point, the Sub-Committee obtained, in the first place, the opinion of the representatives of those Members of the League of Nations which have not acceded to the Pact of Paris and accordingly do not stand in the same relation to the problem as the other Members of the League.

The task of perfecting the Covenant of the League which has been undertaken receives the full sympathy of those Members of the League as being in harmony with their political traditions, but does not present itself to them as an urgent matter. They feel that its achievement should be conditional upon a very thorough examination of the new methods of pacific settlement which are its corollary.

In this connection, mention was made of the possibility that, in the work done by the League in the matter, all reference to the Pact of Paris should be omitted. This, however, would raise another problem.

Certain of the States which have signed or acceded to the Pact of Paris accompanied their signatures or accessions by interpretations of the terms employed in that instrument.

The question might, in particular, be asked whether these interpretations would have the same effect if the case ceased to be one of bringing the Covenant into harmony with the Pact of Paris and became merely one of introducing the principle of prohibition of resort to war into the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The proposed amendments have given rise to other questions as to the problem of the compatibility of the amended Covenant of the League of Nations with other treaties and situations which were the object of express reservations when the Pact of Paris was concluded. The Sub-Committee felt that it would be impossible to settle these questions unless the Governments concerned were given the opportunity to examine them further.

This consideration was one of those which played the greatest part in causing a considerable majority of the Sub-Committee to feel that it would be actually in the interests of the success of the proposed amendments that they should be referred to the Governments for further examination. It was, however, not the only consideration. The question of the conditions of the application of the sanctions of Article 16 of the Covenant to the new obligations is a question on which all the Members of the League do not as yet hold the same views. The discussions in the full Committee and in the Sub-Committee are a proof of this.

Moreover, the Sub-Committee had considered substantial changes in the amendments proposed by the Committee of Eleven. In a matter of such importance, it is entirely appropriate that the Governments of the Members of the League should be able to examine the new texts.

ANNEX.

AMENDMENTS TO THE COVENANT.

Present text.

Preamble.

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war.

Amendments proposed by the Committee of Eleven.

Preamble.

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by accepting the obligation not to resort to war.

Texts drawn up by the Sub-Committee.

Preamble.

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by accepting the obligation not to resort to war.

Article 12, para. 1.

The Members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or judicial settlement or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the judicial decision or the report by the Council.

Article 12, para. 1.

The Members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will only employ pacific means for its settlement. If the disagreement continues, the dispute shall be submitted either to arbitration or judicial settlement, or to inquiry by the Council. The Members of the League agree that they will in no case resort to war for the solution of their dispute.

Article 12, paras. 1 and 2.

1. The Members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will in no case have recourse to war for the settlement of the dispute and will only employ pacific means for this purpose. If the dispute cannot be otherwise settled, it shall be submitted either to arbitration or judicial settlement or to inquiry by the Council.

2. The award of the arbitrators or the judicial decision shall be given and the report of the Council shall be made within a reasonable period.

Present text.

Article 13, para. 4.

The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award or decision that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award or decision, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

Amendments proposed by the Committee of Eleven.

Article 13, para. 4.

The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award or decision that may be rendered and that they will not take any action against any Member of the League which complies therewith.

In the event of any failure to carry out such award or decision, the Council shall propose what measures of all kinds should be taken to give effect thereto; the votes of the representatives of the parties shall not be counted.

Texts drawn up by the Sub-Committee.

Article 13, para. 4.

The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith the award or decision rendered in a dispute to which they have been parties. They further undertake in no way to support a State in refusal to carry out an award or decision. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award or decision, the Council shall propose what measures of all kinds should be taken to give effect thereto; the votes of the representatives of the parties shall not be counted.

Article 15, para. 6.

If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

Article 15, para. 6.

If the report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will comply with the recommendations of the report. If the Council's recommendation is not carried out, the Council shall propose suitable measures to give it effect.

Article 15, para. 6.

If the report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Council shall invite the parties to comply with the recommendations of the report. The Members of the League undertake in no way to support any party in refusal to comply with such recommendations.

Article 15, para. 7.

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

Article 15, para. 7.

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, it shall examine the procedure best suited to meet the case and recommend it to the parties.

Article 15, para. 7.

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, it shall examine the procedure best suited to meet the case and recommend it to the parties.

Article 15, para. 7 bis.

(New paragraph.)

At any stage of the examination the Council may, either at the request of one of the parties or on its own initiative, ask the Permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion on points of law relating to the dispute. Such application shall not require a unanimous vote by the Council.

Article 15, para. 7 bis.

(Suppressed.)

Article 16.

1. Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall, *ipso facto*, be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League.

Article 16.

(No change proposed.)

Article 16, para. 1.

First sentence.

1. Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Article 12, it shall, *ipso facto*, be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League. . . .

ANNEX II.—Report presented by the Second Committee to the Assembly on the Economic Work of the League of Nations.

A.—GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

Before setting out in the present report the results of the Second Committee's discussions and submitting to the Assembly the conclusions arising therefrom, a few general impressions may be given of the main tendency of this Committee's work.

There is an unhesitating and clear determination to find a remedy for the confusion at present existing in world economy by strengthening, rationalising and systematising what is commonly called "concerted action" between States. It has been expressed with a force and depth of feeling that show the seriousness of the evils from which all countries in the world are suffering and betray a fear of the disasters that may result from this state of affairs and endanger international relations. Throughout all the Committee's discussions one idea has constantly recurred—a greater and more sincere effort must be made towards international co-operation, with a view to ensuring a peace resting on solid foundations.

To what points should this effort be directed in the economic sphere? Is it by closer co-operation between all the countries of one continent, by agreements between certain groups of such countries, by seeking for closer co-operation between continents, by lowering Customs tariffs, by rationalising the most-favoured-nation clause, by regulating credit, or by rendering more normal the movement of gold that the causes of the confusion and misunderstanding between the various countries can be most rapidly removed, and that a rational basis can be created for international trade? In the Second Committee's discussions, very few speakers questioned the value of one or other of these measures. Henceforward, there can be no doubt that they may all contribute to the desired result. Divergences of opinion appear when an effort is made to arrive at an agreement—which is, however, indispensable—on the relative importance and efficacy of these measures, the order in which they should be taken up, and the way in which they should be co-ordinated.

The investigation conducted by the Second Committee has, in this respect, given substantial results. The speeches of delegates have not only constituted a careful diagnosis of the economic ills and troubles prevailing in the world, but have also made a highly valuable contribution to that process of arranging the various tasks in order of succession, which is an essential element for the success of the work of the League.

It should be noted that the Committee had to conduct its work in accordance with the ideas and opinions expressed by the Assembly during the general discussion. Were any principles evolved from this general discussion that could guide the Committee in the investigation which it was about to make into the new demands imposed on the combined action of the States by the economic depression? Did this general discussion lead to the establishment of guiding principles which would facilitate the work of the Second Committee? It is unnecessary to recall all the statements made on any particular economic measure, but it is desirable to draw attention to certain points of agreement shown in the discussion in the Assembly which might at any rate direct the lines of the Committee's work.

Among the principal subjects forming what may be called the common setting of all the economic questions submitted to the present Assembly may be mentioned the inadequacy of national action, as a means of solving of the economic problem effectively and the more and more urgent necessity of organising world economic conditions, the usefulness of regional economic agreements—in particular, a European agreement within the organisation of the League—the evils of an excessive protectionism and the necessity of remedying them.

In addition to these general principles, other definite and special problems were raised in the debates which the Committee had to take into consideration. We may mention the manner in which, and the extent to which, the struggle against protection should be carried on; the obstacles encountered in applying the most-favoured-nation clause, and the necessity of an international settlement of this question; the basis, contents and limits of agreements between groups of States with common interests, or agreements for the exchange of certain commodities and articles; the agricultural depression; the distribution of gold; the circulation of capital, of raw materials and of labour; credit; the possibility of shortly convening the International Economic Conference.

In addition, the Committee had to report on the work accomplished since the last Assembly, particularly in execution of the resolution regarding concerted economic action. It has had the greatest satisfaction in recording the results obtained. At this point, the Committee would refer to the imposing volume of work accomplished by the Economic Organisation.

B.—RESULTS OF THE LEAGUE'S WORK IN ECONOMIC QUESTIONS SINCE THE LAST ASSEMBLY.

1. The first step was taken by the Preliminary Conference, held at Geneva in February and March this year, which led to the establishment of the Commercial Convention and the Protocol regarding the Programme of Future Negotiations. It should be pointed out that, in pursuance of the decisions of the last Assembly, all the States Members and non-Members of the League of Nations had been invited to take part in this Conference. However, by a process of auto-selection, probably corresponding to deeply felt needs, this Conference assumed a definitely European character.

In fact, all the signatories of the Commercial Convention of 24th March 1930 and of the Protocol of Future Negotiations are, without exception, European countries.

For the first task assigned to this Conference, a draft had been prepared by the Economic Committee in accordance with the Council's instructions. An attempt was made in this draft to embody the idea of a Customs Union on the basis of which the future negotiations were to be carried on. But, as the work of the Conference proceeded, the difficulties in the way of such a scheme loomed larger and larger as most countries did not feel that they were authorised definitely to abandon, even for a short period, the right to introduce modifications in their Customs system in favour of certain branches threatened by the depression. In taking this line, the Conference was influenced, in particular, by the precarious position of agriculture. It soon became evident that, if

the Conference wished to maintain intact the project of the Customs truce, it would have to dispense with the co-operation of several important countries or destroy almost entirely the value of the principal undertaking by admitting a great number and variety of exceptions.

The Conference had apparently arrived at a deadlock, and it was only thanks to the goodwill of the delegates that it was able to adopt a new formula and draw up a Convention which has up to the present been signed by 18 European countries. The Customs truce, as conceived by the Economic Committee, was replaced by the undertaking to prolong, until 1st April 1931, any commercial agreements which might expire before that date.

This prolongation is supplemented by a system of safeguards intended to secure a relative measure of stability in the Customs system of the signatory countries.

At first sight, the Commercial Convention may appear a much less effective agreement than the Customs truce proper, but the Second Committee is of opinion that its value should not be underestimated. In this Convention the States have, for the first time, recognised in the most explicit manner the interdependence between their national tariff policy and the interests of other States. In consideration of this they have undertaken to submit any Customs increases—save any modifications of duties introduced by law or on account of urgent circumstances—to negotiations designed to minimise, as far as possible, the injury which such increases might cause to the interests of the other signatory States. This is undoubtedly a considerable advance.

2. The second part of the Conference was devoted to establishing a list of the questions which should form the subject of future negotiations.

The result of this work is recorded in a Protocol defining the limits within which the negotiations should take place and indicating the procedure to be followed in preparing these negotiations.

The signatures of only three countries are now required for the Protocol to constitute a complete framework corresponding to the idea of European economic union which was so strongly emphasised at the Tenth and Eleventh Assemblies.

3. In November 1929 the International Conference for the Treatment of Foreigners was held at Paris.

This Conference, which was attended by 47 countries from all parts of the world, had to deal with an extremely complicated question bearing on a wide range of subjects. It is not surprising that the Conference encountered great difficulties. It nevertheless accomplished extremely valuable work by discussing and defining, in the course of long debates, a great number of questions which are now cleared up and prepared for final decision.

The Conference began work on the basis of a draft inspired by liberal ideas and established by the Economic Committee. In many cases, the Paris Conference improved the provisions drawn up by the Economic Committee by making them clearer and surrounding them with the necessary safeguards; but it must be admitted that in its desire to make allowance for the special circumstances of this or that country, the Conference proceeded to weaken the provisions to such an extent that it found itself heading for an agreement that would certainly have provided even less than the present practice.

The Conference declined to adopt this course, and preferred to postpone the conclusion of the Convention to a second session, in preparation for which a Committee was formed.

4. As regards the Convention for the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions, the effects of the economic interdependence existing, in particular, between the many countries grouped together in Europe made themselves felt in no uncertain manner, and unfortunately to the detriment of the success of the contemplated action.

The fact that one of the signatory countries was unable to ratify the Convention led, by a chain of consequences involving one country after another, to the abstention of a whole group of closely connected countries, and thus reduced to seven the number of States between which the Convention is in force for a certain period. These are Great Britain, Denmark, the United States of America, Japan, Norway, the Netherlands, and Portugal—all countries in which, with few exceptions, the system of prohibitions is not applied.

5. The Committee of Veterinary Experts succeeded in evolving a number of important principles relating to the organisation of veterinary services, and to the institution on an international basis of a more effective struggle against animal diseases by closer co-operation between the services concerned.

6. In two spheres in particular the League of Nations has obtained striking results in the course of the past year.

The International Conference for the Unification of the so-called "Continental" laws on bills of exchange led to the conclusion of three Conventions, which have so far been signed by 26 States. In view of the attitude of these States, it is reasonable to expect that the ratifications will take place within the periods laid down. The League of Nations will then have recorded marked progress in a question which should facilitate the normal and smooth development of commercial relations. In this way, the object of the Hague Conferences of 1910 and 1912 will have been achieved.

The regulation of the laws regarding cheques was referred to a second session of the same Conference, which will probably meet early in 1931. The interval between the two sessions is being employed in thorough preparatory work, and there is every reason to believe that the second Conference will prove as successful as the first.

7. Last year, the Assembly asked that the work relating to the unification of Customs nomenclature should be completed before the meeting of the Eleventh Assembly. The Second Committee noted the report submitted by the Sub-Committee of Experts to the Economic Committee, indicating what had so far been done, the work still to be accomplished and the reasons why the work could not be completed within the period laid down.

The unified Customs nomenclature can be drawn up in its entirety, accompanied by the necessary explanatory notes, by the end of the first half of 1931. The Sub-Committee of Experts has already contemplated certain forms of procedure to facilitate the adoption of the unified nomenclature by the various States and to maintain the unity of this nomenclature once it is adopted.

S. Immediately after the last Assembly, the Economic Committee summoned a joint meeting of coal experts who had already been heard in two separate groups.

The experts considered and discussed at length the various possibilities of international co-operation, to which attention has been drawn at previous meetings, including a proposal for the establishment of an international organisation grouping together delegates representing the Governments, labour, industry and consumers.

They further considered other international aspects of the question, such as, for example, how the artificial measures affecting the production or distribution of coal might be made less drastic.

The discussion thus begun was found most useful, and has furnished information and suggestions of great value, but the views concerning the different forms of possible co-operation were still too indeterminate to enable the Economic Committee to formulate conclusions.

It seemed necessary, moreover, to await the further progress of the work which is proceeding under the auspices of the International Labour Office on the adoption of international measures about conditions of work, and, in particular, hours of work in coal mines. It will be remembered that in June last, the International Labour Conference had before it a draft Convention, which did not obtain the necessary majority of votes and is to come up again at the next session of the Conference.

The Economic Committee will be in a position to resume its study of the question as soon as circumstances allow it to do so.

9. This year, for the first time, the Economic Committee has got into direct touch with the qualified representatives of agricultural circles by means of a meeting of experts, with the co-operation of the President and one other representative of the International Institute of Agriculture. This co-operation will provide a valuable basis for all the economic studies which the League may undertake on subjects connected with agriculture.

The reports of the experts on the nature and causes of agricultural depression in the various countries will shortly be collected together, and will undoubtedly constitute a useful basis for further discussions.

A powerful factor contributing to the conciliation of the various and sometimes conflicting views expressed concerning the programme of future work has been found, not only in that determined spirit referred to already, which actuates all persons having public responsibilities—the determination, that is, to overcome all obstacles and to organise economic peace, in the face of no matter what adversity or antagonisms—but also in the knowledge that the means to that end and the instrument required are available in the form of the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League of Nations. The Committee was unanimous, as the Assembly will doubtless be, in conveying to the latter an expression of its profound satisfaction.

10. It may be taken as certain that all problems referred for study to the Economic Organisation will be considered with the greatest care. The range and variety of the economic enquiries undertaken by the League, for which it is frequently criticised, are not the result of ill-considered initiative on the part of the executive organs of the Secretariat; they are simply the consequence of, or sequel to, decisions taken by the Assembly or the Council. The range and variety of these researches is due to the universal character of economic difficulties and their complexity and interdependence.

If the number and extent of these researches are not detrimental to thorough and efficient work, this system must be preferred to a system of fragmentary studies, limited in scope and taken up seriatim, which can only yield a partial reflection of economic realities. For time is a factor engendering continual, and sometimes abrupt, changes in these realities; and, though (as we have said above) it may be necessary for the success of the League's endeavours that the various subjects should be taken up in sequence and that efforts should be concentrated on them in turn, it is also important, at certain moments, to survey and appraise the economic situation in its manifold forms, in order to determine clearly what measures should be proposed and what their effects are likely to be.

We believe that the methods of the League of Nations, with its special studies and special conferences fitting into the framework of its general enquiries and general conferences, provides a sound means for procuring abundant and accurate information on the principal problems of the day.

C.—WORK OF THE COMMITTEE.

1. *Development of the Economic Depression.*

In conformity with the preliminary discussion in the Assembly on economic subjects, the discussions of the Second Committee, which were dominated throughout by the worldwide economic depression, have either dealt in general terms with the causes and various aspects of the depression in certain countries or throughout the world, or have been directed to the elucidation of various problems of commercial policy which the development of the depression renders more and more urgent.

As regards the first point, the Committee did not consider it desirable to undertake an investigation into the causes of the economic depression to be carried on by the League independently of what others are doing in the same direction, but thought it would be well to collect the evidence which exists already and which is being gathered by different national institutions and to complete the investigations so far as there may be any lack of information.

Since the action consequent upon the first Conference is now in full swing, the Committee does not consider that the time has come to summon a Second World Economic Conference at an early date. The Economic and Financial Organisation of the League exists for the very purpose of keeping in touch with the progress of the work, elucidating obscure points, and following closely all the questions raised by the evolution of the depression. As a large number of enquiries have been conducted in the various countries on the subject of the depression and the difficulties of every kind to which it gives rise, the Committee considers that the Economic Section should devote itself to the task of scrutinising and co-ordinating this mass of data with a view to determining its main characteristics.

One special aspect of the question is that of the recurrence of periods of economic depression to which allusion was made by certain delegates in the first days of the present session.

When we consider the magnitude of the losses from which the world suffers during a period of economic stagnation similar to that through which the world is now passing, it is impossible not to be impressed by the almost absolute failure of society up to the present to devise any means by which such disasters may be averted. The Committee felt that this problem was one which imperatively demanded co-ordinated and concerted study, and recommends, therefore, in a separate resolution, (1) that the facts and special characteristics of the present depression should be ascertained and carefully sifted with the aid of work already done by national research institutions and (2) that an endeavour should also be made to study the causes of the recurrence of periods of prosperity and depression.

National investigations are already being conducted in certain countries. A number of research institutions have been founded in recent years to study this question, and a number of Governments have set up, in addition, central economic planning or advisory councils.

The Committee considers that the first step should be to ascertain, after consultation with the bodies just mentioned, by what means the work which is now being done may be co-ordinated and stimulated, to collate the results already reached, compare the experiences and researches of the various national institutions and thus at once to promote the world study of what is essentially a world problem and to devise means by which countries may acquire a greater control over their economic destinies.

The Committee, however, desires to add that it is fully conscious of the difficulties and obscurities of this highly technical scientific problem. It is not putting forward this recommendation on the assumption that any ready-made solution is likely to be rapidly discovered. It felt, however, that the League would be failing in its obligations if it refused to face the problem on the grounds that it was intricate or difficult.

The Committee notes with satisfaction that the number of ratifications necessary for the entry into force of the International Convention relating to Economic Statistics have now been received, and that it is, therefore, possible to begin work on the Annual Survey of Economic Developments, the preparation of which the Assembly recommended last year. This Survey, which is intended for the general reader, is, of course, wholly distinct from the scientific analysis of the special problems of the economic depression mentioned above.

In regard to one of the symptoms, and at the same time one of the most painful consequences, of the depression—viz., unemployment, the Committee understands that the International Labour Office is already enquiring into this question and into the movements of wages. It hopes that it will be possible to utilise the results of this enquiry for the projected study of the development and phases of the prevailing depression. It expresses the hope that close and continuous contact will be established to the greatest possible extent between the League of Nations Economic and Financial Organisation and the International Labour Office with a view to utilising the specialised experience of the competent organisation in connection with any other economic question that affects the interests of Labour. This would apply, in particular, to the question of coal, which, as stated above, has been the subject of study and discussion by the League and which has formed the subject of a communication from the International Miners' Federation emphasising the pressing nature of this question. The Assembly cannot leave out of account the efforts which have been made by the International Labour Office, on the one hand, and the Miners' International Federation on the other to solve this important question in accordance with the general interest.

The Committee considers that the general interest is the interest also of the consuming countries. Provision should accordingly be made for the co-operation of the latter in all future enquiries or meetings.

2. Agricultural Depression.

The troubles from which agriculture is suffering, which are one of the primary causes, if not the sole primary cause, of the general economic depression, have been the theme of numerous speakers in the Committee, particularly the representatives of the agricultural countries of Europe. The fundamental facts are well known, and here again it would be useless to propose new enquiries. The depression has been diagnosed on a number of occasions and in more quarters than one. Additional enquiries can only yield more precise information as to the details and incidence of the depression as it has developed in particular circumstances and in particular countries. The data furnished by that valuable source of information, the International Institute of Agriculture, agree in indicating that, in the case of almost all essential commodities and raw materials, there has been a great increase in production, which is almost always in excess of the increase in consumption. In the case of cereals, and wheat in particular, the most recent data do not, unfortunately, suggest favourable prospects.

It will readily be understood that, under these circumstances and with these prospects, anxiety is increasing, that apprehension is deepening and that complaints are growing more and more insistent, while suggestions and recommendations of every kind advocating recourse to immediate and decisive remedial action abound. This state of mind was reflected in the discussions of the Committee, though tempered always by that attitude of reserve which a sense of responsibilities imposes on men of experience.

The Committee is bound to take note of all the work already accomplished by the International Institute of Agriculture, the close and continuous co-operation of which with the League of Nations is a sure guarantee of the value of the investigations and of the justification for such solutions as may be proposed. In particular, the Committee is glad to record the stimulus given by the co-operation of the two organisations in the studies on cereals and sugar, and it notes that invitations will shortly be issued by the Institute to the meetings in preparation for the second session of the World Conference on Wheat, one of these meetings being concerned with European countries and the other with countries overseas. If the Committee could express a wish on this subject, it would be that these meetings should study carefully the way in which new means may be found of utilising wheat for industrial purposes in view of the enormous stocks accumulated. Efforts towards a solution in this sense are already proceeding. It will be necessary to take them into account and to endeavour to extend them and give publicity to their methods and advantages.

Another wish which the Committee expresses is that all the countries concerned will duly afford the most effective assistance in their power to the forthcoming meeting of the Institute, which is to deal with European wheat problems.

3. The Most-favoured-nation Clause.

The uneasiness occasioned by the present depression is also responsible for certain difficulties which have arisen in connection with the application of the most-favoured-nation clause, as well as for the movement in the agricultural countries of Eastern Europe which has led to the proposals submitted by the latter to the other States represented in the Assembly.

Whether proposals relate to European agreements on the lines of the idea discussed in the Assembly at the initiative of the French Government, or to more limited projects for regional agreements inside Europe, or, again, to understandings covering the whole of particular branches of production, and not subject to any geographical limits—all these new and frequently conflicting ideas, springing from pressing needs, are so many symptoms of a situation the serious character of which is realised by all. The different countries, conscious of the fact that national action alone, however useful and necessary, is powerless to cope with current difficulties, are anxiously seeking for international solutions.

The Assembly cannot remain passive in face of this state of affairs. The Second Committee is of opinion, however, that it is desirable not to depart from the programme of concerted action which was drawn up, after mature reflection, by the Tenth Assembly.

Reference has already been made to certain divergences of view which became apparent in the Second Committee on the subject of the application of the most-favoured-nation clause. As stated, their origin is probably to be found in the serious difficulties with which agriculture has now to contend in almost every country. Had it not been for this depression, some countries would probably not have found themselves compelled to raise their Customs duties on certain important agricultural products, while compensating such increase by the admission of specified quotas at the old ratio of duty—a development which has been the subject of somewhat lively discussion in recent months.

The question which arises is whether, and, if so, under what conditions, the allocation of quotas is compatible with the spirit of the most-favoured-nation clause. Attention was also drawn to the desirability of studying the question whether the anti-dumping and countervailing duties are compatible with the clause, as also the question how the expression "similar products" should be interpreted.

The Second Committee has been led for these reasons to propose that the Economic Committee should continue its studies on this subject while considering the possibility of submitting the resolutions in due course to a Conference of Governments. The Economic Committee seems to be well fitted to deal with this question, on which it has already reached conclusions that have been favourably received by the majority of countries. The root of the problem is how to find a means of reconciling two conceptions, each of which might, according to the contrary views expressed, prove to be equally prejudicial.

A dogmatic and over-rigid interpretation of the most-favoured-nation clause—to which, for a long time past, commercial custom has allowed certain derogations of a geographical and ethnic character—might, as pointed out in the debate, render impossible partial adjustments which it would be very imprudent to condemn off-hand in the present serious situation. At the same time, it is necessary to prevent the most-favoured-nation clause, which is an invaluable instrument of economic understanding between peoples, from suffering to such an extent as to disturb the operation of the delicate mechanism of international trade.

In the course of discussion, two main ideas were voiced—namely, that a certain amount of elasticity should be cautiously allowed in the application of the clause whenever this appeared indispensable for the conclusion of agreements likely to bring about genuine progress in the economic life of nations; but that, at the same time, any relaxation of the principle of the clause should be avoided which might cause it to break down and might entail a fractional disruption of commercial relations.

Without desiring to anticipate the final opinion of the Economic Committee, the Second Committee desires to recall the conclusion at which the latter arrived in the matter of the relations between multilateral agreements of a general character concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations and bilateral Conventions based on the mutual accord of most-favoured-nation treatment.

4. Bases and Limits of Regional Agreements.

These reflections on the application of the most-favoured-nation clause were also suggested to the Second Committee by the fact that, both at its own meetings and at the plenary meetings of the Assembly, the question was raised whether the direction to be taken was that of European agreements—the scope of which would be virtually defined by the number and character of the signatories to the Protocol of Future Negotiations drawn up in March last—or rather that of regional agreements as forming an intermediate stage.

Although both these ideas found adherents among members of the Committee, the latter did not express an opinion.

The proposals submitted by the States which took part in the Warsaw Agricultural Conference in August last also raised similar questions of principle. On the one hand, they call for closer co-operation between agricultural countries with the object of mitigating the fierce competition which they are forced to engage in with one another and to organise harmoniously their production and trade. They wish to co-operate in order to secure better domestic organisation and, thereafter, to reach an agreement enabling them to discharge more profitably their function of grain suppliers to other European countries.

This section of the Warsaw Conference's programme cannot but command the Assembly's keenest approval. The disparity between the economic conditions of the above States and those of the so-called industrial countries, the different standard of life, the differences in the stage of organisation reached, the irrational distribution of capital, the difference in money rates are so many obstacles to

the harmonious development of European economic forces. The Assembly, therefore, cannot but be gratified at the efforts of these countries to strengthen their economic structure.

The programme of the Warsaw Conference also includes requests addressed, primarily to the other European States signatories of the Protocol of Future Negotiations, and generally to the Members of the League of Nations who have met at Geneva.

One of the most important of these requests, from an international standpoint, is that for the preferential treatment which the other European States are asked to grant to the agricultural exports of the countries concerned.

During the discussions in the Second Committee, the representatives of European States, to whom this request is primarily addressed, stated that they would be glad if they could help to improve the economic situation of those countries, by enabling them to dispose at reasonable prices of their agricultural surpluses, particularly of their excess stocks of grain.

Certain delegations have, however, raised the strongest objections to the establishment of preferential treatment as provided in one of the resolutions of the Warsaw Conference. The delegations of Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, without pronouncing upon the substance of the question, have expressed the opinion that the proposal contained in the Warsaw resolution to accord preferential treatment on the European markets to cereals produced in Europe is not a question on which the Eleventh Assembly of the League of Nations should express an opinion.

Certain other delegations pointed out that, if the question of principle of limited or regional preferential treatment were raised, they would hold that this question would have to extend to all preferential treatment whatsoever and between any States Members of the League.

The Second Committee desires not to prevent European States from improving their economic organisation, but desires to point out that the Tenth Assembly, in its resolution on concerted economic action, afforded other States the opportunity of intervening to protect their interests.

The Second Committee therefore believes that the proposals of the agricultural countries which met at Warsaw come within the scope of the economic reorganisation to be discussed between States signatories of the Protocol of Future Negotiations of 24th March 1930, always provided, however, that, in accordance with the Tenth Assembly's resolution, the non-signatory States may be asked to participate; and, further, that the result of all such negotiations shall be brought before a Conference which all States, without distinction, will be asked to attend.

5. Concerted Economic Action.

A question to which the Second Committee devoted special attention was the position of the Commercial Convention of 24th March 1930, and the Programme of Negotiations with a View to Concerted Economic Action.

The Committee recommends that the largest possible number of States should ratify the Commercial Convention, and that States which have not signed or not ratified it should, at any rate, in practice give effect to its provisions.

The Committee would be gratified if, at the Conference to be held in November 1930 to decide the conditions under which the Commercial Convention will be brought into force, the States taking part would also give consideration to the Programme of Future Negotiations.

To this end the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League should be asked, first to go through the replies to the questionnaire included in the Protocol, and single out from these replies the main points which might be discussed.

The Second Committee stresses the fact that, at any rate, no solution likely to improve economic relations should be rejected off-hand. The future negotiations for joint concerted action will have reference, partly to Customs tariffs, properly so-called, in regard to which the two main proposals were to work by groups of articles and by groups of countries; partly to non-tariff questions, such as the unification of Customs nomenclature, indirect protectionism, and, in particular, export bounties, dumping, &c.

The work on these two kinds of question should, as far as possible, be conducted concurrently.

Dumping.—As regards dumping, the Second Committee was guided by the following considerations:—

Whenever sales become difficult, either at home or abroad, owing to the usual customers having neither the means nor the need to make purchases, international competition tends to become abnormal, owing to the urgent necessity felt by large undertakings of securing, at whatever cost, employment for their workers and their plant. In such circumstances, the tendency is for dumping to develop all the more formidable, because, sometimes, owing to special circumstances, it can be practised in very many branches of manufacture and without the persons responsible being in any way concerned to maintain any proportion whatever between cost and sales prices.

The Second Committee was, naturally, disturbed by the alarming proportions which dumping has latterly assumed, but merely condemned once more this unhealthy practice.

6. Other Questions.

The following draft resolution seeks to establish a fair compromise by taking due account of the discussions held and the proposals made on other questions during the proceedings of the Committee. Only for the sake of brevity is no mention made of them here.

An exception, however, will be granted in the case of the question which dominated the Assembly—and which has been in the background of all the Committee's debates—the scheme for a European Federal Union. The Committee cannot close its proceedings without expressing the desire that the Assembly should assert the need for a permanent connection, and ultimately active co-operation, between the Economic Organisation and the Commission of Enquiry for European Union.

ANNEX III.—Report presented by the Second Committee on Financial Work.

The work carried out by the Financial Committee or under its general direction up to the end of last August has been recorded briefly in the report of the work of the League since the Tenth Session of the Assembly and in the supplement to that report. The last meeting of this Committee, however, only terminated on 9th September, and on that occasion the Committee submitted to the Council one of the most notable reports which it has prepared for a number of years. This report, which has been laid before the Second Committee, is divided into two parts. The first part deals with current work and the second contains a brief review of the Financial Committee's past work and a considered statement concerning its functions.

The Second Committee desires to draw special attention to this document, which was approved by the Council on 24th September, and especially to the second half of it.

The first part of the report records the successful termination, or proximate termination, of four of the major pieces of work which have occupied so much of the Committee's time in recent years—the Greek Refugee Settlement Scheme, the measures adopted in connection with Greek financial reconstruction, the Bulgarian Refugee Settlement Scheme and the monetary and banking reorganisation in Estonia.

But, since this report, considered so recently by the Council, was drafted—indeed, during the last few days—another, a fifth important undertaking for which the Financial Committee has been largely responsible—the Convention on Financial Assistance—has been brought to a successful conclusion.

While one chapter of the Financial Committee's work has thus closed, another has been opened which recounts a story, different, it is true, from the past, but of no less interest or significance.

Thus, the Financial Committee draws the attention of the Council to the fact that its special delegation set up to study certain aspects of the problem of the purchasing power of gold has now drafted an interim report dealing with one important aspect of the problem. Thus, too, a new piece of work has just been undertaken by the Committee which is of special interest in connection with the lines along which its activities are now being directed. During the course of its last meeting, the Bulgarian Government, with which the Committee has been for so long in the closest touch, asked that a study should be made of the organisation of the co-operative system in Bulgaria, under the general direction of the Committee; and it has now been definitely arranged that two experts of recognised authority on co-operative questions should be sent to study the situation on the spot. This inquiry is likely to prove of value, not only to the country directly interested, but also to the Committee itself in connection with another question of general importance that has recently come before it—namely, that of agricultural credits, referred to it by the Preliminary Conference with a View to Concerted Economic Action. This recent development will no doubt be watched by all agricultural States that are interested either in the assistance that may be afforded by special inquiries and advice or in the wider problem of the organisation of agricultural credit.

Of the four pieces of reconstruction work which are now terminating, that of the settlement of Greek refugees has deservedly attracted the most public attention. It is not, however, necessary to review in detail now the efforts which have been made during the last seven years to accomplish this end.

The progress of the work has been fully recorded in the 27 reports of the Refugee Settlement Commission, particularly the 19th and 27th reports, and in the volume issued by the Commission in 1926. Moreover, the Assembly has in past years been informed of its progress and is well aware of the beneficent economic, political and social consequences of the successful accomplishment of this great task.

Speaking of the million and a half refugees who poured into Greece from Asia Minor in 1922, Mr. Howland, the past President of the Commission, says:—

“On the humanitarian side, imagination cannot compass the event. Only those can make the effort of understanding who have seen destitution, misery, disease and death in all their possible forms, and the scale of this disaster was so unprecedented as to demand even from such persons a new vision.”

The League's Commissioner in Bulgaria and the Financial Committee are of the opinion that the settlement of Bulgarian refugees will be finished by the middle of next year. Though the number of refugees was much smaller than in Greece, their settlement was of real importance both to the economic and to the political welfare of the country.

With reference to the work on financial reconstruction in Greece, it will be recollectcd that when, in 1927, the Protocol for the Stabilisation Loan was signed, the Greek Government undertook to make quarterly reports to the Council on its budget situation. These reports have given the occasion for periodical consultations between representatives of the Greek Ministry of Finance and the Financial Committee of the League. The last of these reports has now been received. The work has been remarkably successful. The Greek budget has been in equilibrium during the last three years, and a number of financial administrative reforms of no small importance adopted.

The problem of financial reform in Estonia differed widely from that which had to be faced in Greece, and arose rather from currency and banking than from budgetary difficulties. When the Protocol for the Estonian Stabilisation Loan was signed, it was agreed, therefore, that the Council should nominate an adviser to the Central Bank to be appointed by the Estonian Government for a period of three years. This period has now come to an end, and the banking and currency reform has been successfully completed.

You will recollect that the Rapporteur of the Second Committee, the honourable delegate for Poland, M. Gliwicki, in his extremely interesting speech last year, drew the attention of the Assembly to the fact that a special delegation consisting of certain members of the Financial Committee and other experts of international authority have been appointed “to examine into, and report upon, the causes of fluctuations in the purchasing power of gold and their effects on the economic life of the nations.” This delegation has made an exhaustive inquiry into the question, which must necessarily form the basis of its subsequent work, whether the prospective supply of gold is likely to prove adequate to meet the probable monetary demand in the future and has prepared an interim report

on this subject. As a result of its very careful and extensive study of the most authoritative sources of information on this subject, the delegation reached the considered conclusion, to quote the words of the Financial Committee itself, "that the inadequacy of the supply of new gold available for money is likely to be such as to become a factor in the next few years exercising a depressing influence on prices." It adds, however, that remedial measures may be found to prevent the consequences anticipated making themselves felt for, at any rate, some time to come, and in the last pages of its report it indicated the directions in which, in its opinion, such remedial measures may be sought.

We have all of us learned to appreciate only too fully the disastrous effects of falling prices, and it is almost unnecessary therefore to emphasise the very great importance of the findings contained in this most illuminating report.

The Assembly will endorse the view expressed by the Financial Committee already approved by the Council, that the report as a whole deserves the serious consideration of the authorities which are responsible for the monetary systems in the different countries of the world.

Other questions on which the Financial Committee has been engaged in the course of the year under review include the Convention for Financial Assistance, to which reference has already been made, falsification of documents of value, the Greco-Bulgarian emigration, the proposed Saar loan, the Hungarian Committee of Control and the Agrarian Fund, the Danzig loans, &c.

Such, then, are the problems which have occupied the major portion of the time of the Financial Committee. But mention must be made also of the work of the Fiscal Committee, which is closely related to it.

The Fiscal Committee has been in existence now for a little more than a year. It is an advisory body for fiscal questions in general, but is primarily concerned with the question of double taxation. This youngest Standing Committee of the League is doing excellent work. It is preparing, at the moment, a multilateral Convention for the avoidance of double taxation. With the help of a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, it is starting an inquiry into the manner in which the branches and subsidiaries of foreign companies are taxed in different countries. It has already drafted rules for distinguishing an autonomous agent from a permanent establishment, which is one of the most delicate questions in international tax law. It has also adopted, in first reading, rules for taxing patent and copyright royalties. It has prepared a statement on the bearing of the most-favoured-nation clause to taxation questions. With the Transit Organisation, it has prepared a draft Convention on the taxation of foreign motor-cars, &c.

This brief summary may suffice to show how wide is the range of questions with which the Fiscal Committee is engaged, and how actively it has been employed during the first year of its work. It should be added that the work which the League has conducted in the field of double taxation in earlier years has no doubt contributed to the more equitable conditions which are resulting to-day from the series of bilateral agreements concerning double taxation recently signed between various States.

From what has already been said, it is obvious that the greater part of the time of the Financial Committee in recent years has been taken by its important work on financial reconstruction. As, gradually, reconstruction schemes were brought to a successful termination, the Committee was able to devote more of its attention to general problems of international concern, and, very wisely in my opinion, has considered that it might be helpful at this stage to review briefly the work which it has accomplished and the new tasks which lie before it.

In the illuminating and important section of its report devoted to this subject, the Financial Committee divides its work into three main categories:—

- (1) General financial questions.
- (2) Advice and assistance to particular States.
- (3) Advice on financial questions arising out of current political or administrative work of the Council.

Among the questions of a general financial order now occupying the attention of the Committee may be mentioned the problems of double taxation, of agricultural credits and of the influence of gold supplies on general economic welfare, to which allusion has already been made. These three questions are selected simply by way of illustration out of the many of outstanding importance that deserve and command the attention of the financial experts who have put their services at the disposal of the League.

The Financial Committee also alludes in its report to the question of the alternating periods of prosperity and depression. The question is being considered by the Second Committee in connection with the economic work of the League. In all such cases having at once economic and financial interest, the appropriate divisions of the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League will, of course, work in close co-operation.

The section of the report which, in the opinion of the Second Committee, demands the special attention both of this Assembly and of each separate Government, is that dealing with the advice and assistance which the Financial Committee is in a position to render to individual States. The reconstruction work carried out by the League during the last 10 years has necessarily depended for its success on the sound advice which the Financial Committee has given. Incidentally, the raising of foreign loans has, in most cases, also been necessary in order to re-establish national finances on a sound basis. But, as the Financial Committee itself points out, that fact has been an accident of the abnormal circumstances of the past, and it is desirable that Governments should realise the facilities which the League offers for the wholly disinterested advice on financial questions of a body of persons of the standing and authority that the members of this Committee possess. The range of questions—whether they be related to questions of budgetary or taxation systems, currency or banking, the organisation of credit for agricultural or other credit, or the general financial conditions of a country—on which Governments may desire to avail themselves of such advice is obviously a wide one.

It is possible, of course, that the advice sought may have a bearing on some future loan that a country wishes to raise, and the Council has approved the suggestion that such advice should be given on the condition that, if the fact that it has been obtained "is mentioned in connection with

a loan operation, the prospectus of the loan shall contain a statement drafted by the Committee explaining the exact limits of the responsibility it has assumed."

It may, it is thought, be anticipated that, when advice is sought in the future, it will normally be either wholly unconnected with, or but indirectly related to, subsequent loan operations. It is not impossible, however, that problems of financial reconstruction more or less similar to those already undertaken may arise, or that a Government may desire to raise loans "under the auspices of the League" for general economic development. The Council has approved the proposal that loans for economic development in a particular country should not, in principle, be regarded as within the scope of loans which may be issued "under League auspices"; but this is not to exclude the consideration of such loans when they present special international interest or advantages.

The third category of work before the Financial Committee, i.e. "advice on financial questions arising out of current political and administrative work of the Council," is no less important than those to which reference has been made. The Financial Committee is, of course, the technical advisory body of the organs of the League of Nations on financial questions; and, now that the work of reconstruction is so nearly completed, it may perhaps be expected that a greater proportion of its time will be devoted to the financial questions which arise out of the work of the League in other fields. The Financial Committee gives as examples of this kind of work financial questions arising in relation to work of the Mandates Commission, or the administration of the Saar, or the preparatory work in relation to Article 16 (and application, if the occasion arose), or budgetary problems in connection with disarmament.

The great reputation and authority acquired by the Committee during the past decade has been well deserved, for it is the fruit of hard and disinterested technical work which has produced practical and visible results known the world over.

It has often been said from the tribune of the Assembly, and particularly repeated this year, that we cannot expect from a new institution like the League quick and positive results in attempting to deal with the complex problems which beset the modern world. But here we have an example of practical results of far-reaching effect being obtained through the determined and careful work of a group of first-class experts animated by a determination to carry to a conclusion by co-operative effort the important tasks which have been submitted to it.

ANNEX IV.—Report of the Second Committee to the Assembly on the Work of the Health Organisation.

I am profoundly sensible of the honour which my colleagues on the Committee have conferred upon me in assigning to me the task of Rapporteur on this important subject. It is an honour which has not before been conferred on a delegate of the British Empire, and the Assembly will forgive me if I recall with a certain pardonable pride that more than one important international conference on the health work of the League has been held at the offices of the British Ministry of Health in London. And, in considering the work which is being done to improve the conditions of health in my own country, and the contributions we are making to health work in the British Empire by our School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and by our most recent school of post-graduate medical education, a reflection presents itself to my mind which I feel is shared by the delegates of all the nations present—which, like myself, have come from long study of their own countries to this work of the League—how essentially similar, in spite of the wide differences of local circumstances, are the problems which confront us; how the same difficulties repeat themselves in every crowded urban area and in every scattered rural population; and how infinitely valuable is the experience of each of us to all the others.

Before reviewing in general terms the work of the Health Organisation during the period which has elapsed since the last Assembly, I should like to stress the importance of that work to the League as a whole. As one of the technical organisations of the League, it has achieved results which show the success which international co-operation through the League may achieve in technical matters. International co-operation in health matters is relatively easy. There are few, if any, vested interests comparable to those which act as a bar to progress in the economic field. In that even more difficult field of international co-operation, the political, success is to be won only by the greater determination and more strenuous efforts needed to overcome more serious obstacles.

New world conditions, as well as the obligations assumed by Governments which have subscribed to the Covenant, imply the assumption of a new responsibility by health administrations—the responsibility of co-operation, and of placing at the disposal of all the special information and experience which some have gained. And, indeed, these duties are emphasised in the Covenant itself, which recognises the value of a more rapid evolution of health and welfare work in every country through international co-operation.

Nearly 10 years have elapsed since the League's Health Organisation began its work, and, as one studies its development, the various steps in its solution are clearly apparent. Each separate question naturally passes through three stages—that of study and the collection of information, that of forming general judgments on the basis of the material collected, and, then, finally, a stage of action. And, speaking quite broadly and generally, we may say that the 10 years' work of the Health Organisation of the League corresponds roughly to those three stages—although obviously the last stage, that of action, will generally be carried out, not by the League, but by the individual Governments united here in a common purpose.

The first period in the work of the Health Organisation was mainly occupied by general studies and surveys, in order to learn and define the problems which might be susceptible of solution by the new international health agency. These covered a wide field; so wide that, on more than one occasion, members of this Committee expressed the fear that the vast field of work contemplated by the Health Organisation might be beyond its strength and its means. Nevertheless, it was necessary to explore widely the possibilities of international co-operation, because of the diversity of the problems facing the health administrations, not only as between European countries, but also as between countries of the New and Old Worlds and Asia.

This period permitted the Health Organisation to learn the needs of the various health administrations, which might be satisfied by common studies and co-operative action which it could promote. As examples of this work of the Health Organisation, I would instance how, at different times, a group of countries have needed to exchange experience about the control of tuberculosis or rabies, about infant welfare, sleeping-sickness in Central Africa, or on methods of education in hygiene. These needs have to be realised and satisfied one by one according to the judgment of the Health Committee and the Medical Director. There is no finality to these questions, and it is altogether desirable that new proposals for international study should be made to the Health Committee and considered year by year.

Some examples of this may here be given. Recently, Great Britain found itself among the countries in which the public, as well as the Government, desired to extend the beneficial effect of radium in the treatment of cancer, and they found a large sum of money to purchase radium for hospitals. But questions at once arose about the best and most economic method of applying radium. When this was put before the Health Committee, it was found that many other countries desired the same international study; it has been begun and already has produced most useful results.

In the Second Committee, during the present session, some noteworthy suggestions were made by delegates who spoke on the work of the Health Organisation.

The delegate from Australia mentioned the enquiry into the health conditions of certain Pacific islands, undertaken by the Health Organisation at the request of his Government. In view of the results of that enquiry he suggested that it would be desirable for the Health Organisation's Malaria Commission to undertake a mosquito survey of Melanesia.

The delegate of Japan hoped that the leprosy studies undertaken by the Health Organisation would be continued and extended.

The delegate of Venezuela spoke of the value of medicinal plants and their active principles in the treatment of disease. In the case of some of these plants it was difficult to secure a quantity sufficient for medical purposes, because of the difficulty of collecting them and the lack of supervision. The unsystematic exploitation of cinchona, for example, had led to deplorable results. The interest taken in this subject was shown by the constitution of numerous national associations, and the conclusions of the two international congresses held at Vienna and Budapest. The delegate of Venezuela was of opinion that it would be advisable to arrive at a more systematic utilisation of medicinal plants by a co-ordinated study of their active principles, their distribution and their utilisation throughout the world. He suggested that the Assembly should request the Health Committee to decide whether the technical study of this problem was opportune, and, if opportune, to plan the studies to be undertaken.

The suggestion—it will be clear to the Assembly—is one which might usefully be discussed with the International Institute of Agriculture, whose competence in this field is well known.

These are examples of the kind of international enquiry which is open to any country to ask the Health Committee to consider from the point of view of practicability and priority.

All countries have desired to increase their facilities for learning about the spread of infectious diseases throughout the world, whether through the operation of the existing international Conventions on the subject or otherwise. It is on the basis of this universal demand that the Health Organisation has developed its well-known system of world "epidemiological intelligence," not only at Geneva, but at its important Far Eastern Bureau at Singapore, to which so many public health administrations now contribute information, and from which they will doubtless continue to derive increasing benefit.

The delegates of Australia and Japan at the Second Committee of the present Assembly expressed the desire to see the work of this bureau widened and extended so that it might act as a general branch for the health work of the League in the East.

According to the Japanese delegate, Japan was also anxious that the system of fellowships for the benefit of specialised health officers from the East should be maintained.

The delegates of India and Persia expressed the desire to see appropriate studies of plague and cholera undertaken by the Health Organisation. As the Singapore Bureau has already undertaken enquiries into the epidemiology and prevention of these diseases, it is proper that the study of these subjects should be continued by that branch of the League's Health Organisation.

The next period in the evolution of the Health Organisation may be termed the period of the formation of general conclusions. The early work of the Malaria Commission is a good example of the development from the first to the second stage. First came the surveys and studies of the malaria problem in many countries by delegations of the Malaria Commission in order to determine its limits and possibilities as a field for international action. Studies and surveys of this kind went on for four years, resulting in the collection of a large amount of information. The time was ripe for a session of the full Malaria Commission to determine the points in connection with the prevention of malaria on which agreement was general. As a result of this Conference, some general principles of action were laid down which must be invaluable for any Government which has to organise its anti-malaria services. But, if this session resulted in finding common ground on the methods and principles which must govern the campaign against malaria, it revealed also divergencies of opinion which could only be solved by further studies conducted on an international basis. The Commission, therefore, agreed on a programme of common studies to elucidate these points, and studies on these lines are now being carried on in different countries by workers who are kept in touch with each other through the League's Health Organisation.

The third period characterising the work of the Health Organisation is the period of what may be called action—the response to the application of particular Governments for advice or assistance in their peculiar problems. This is the stage which has now been reached in respect of certain of the Health Organisation's activities.

The first tentative steps leading in this direction were taken early in the history of the Health Organisation, when different Governments sought to utilise the experience gained and the information collected by that Organisation in special subjects.

For example, the Health Organisation made a sanitary survey of malaria in Corsica at the request of the French Government. At the request of the Government of Bulgaria it gave advice on anti-malaria measures. At the request of the Government of Persia it advised on the establishment

of an anti-malaria service within the framework of its health administration. Requests from the Governments of Argentine, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay had as object the undertaking of joint studies into infant mortality. A sanitary survey of certain islands of the Pacific was made at the request of the Government of Australia, and studies of malaria in India were undertaken at the invitation of that Government.

Not until recently, however, did any Government request the co-operation of the League's Health Organisation in matters covering the whole field of public health.

The Assembly will recall that, at this time last year, the Council considered a request from the National Government of the Republic of China for the despatch of a mission from the League to explore with the Chinese Ministry of Health the possibilities of collaboration in health matters. The Council decided that the League should give every assistance to China in her efforts for reconstruction, and a Secretariat mission, after discussing detailed plans for collaboration with the Government of China, brought back detailed proposals to this end, which were accepted by the Health Committee and by the Council.

I am sure I am expressing the feelings of all those present when I say that we are watching with the utmost sympathy and admiration the manner in which the Government of China is attacking the common foes of humanity—disease and the conditions which produce disease.

Let me here mention the progress which has been made in the League's co-operation with China since the return of the Secretariat mission. At Nanking, a central field health station is about to be established under plans suggested by the experts designated by the Health Organisation. A distinguished Danish authority on medical education is now also visiting China, while arrangements to facilitate the new Chinese port health administration had made substantial progress.

In like manner, as regards Greece, the recommendations of the Health Organisation made to the Greek Government last year have been followed up, and a plan of reorganisation has been elaborated. The new School of Hygiene will open its doors in November for the admission of candidates for posts in the new public health service, and in the country districts selected for the application of the plan the preliminary work has already been completed.

On the other side of the world, in Bolivia, two expert officers of the Health Section have already, in pursuance of the request of the Bolivian Government, undertaken special health surveys in that country. Reports of this work in China, Greece and Bolivia are to be presented to the Health Committee at its coming session.

Health work has an important reaction on economic conditions. The aim of health work is to raise the standard of life and, to realise this, one has only to consider a malarial region, where the crops lie ungarnered in the field because the harvester is stricken with this disease. A population undermined by disease cannot prosper. On the other hand, economic conditions affect health work favourably or adversely, and even conditions of transit may favour or prevent the solution of health problems. How, for instance, can a modern health service exist in a region without proper communications and transit facilities? Without communications, disease cannot be notified; and without means of transport, the public health and medical services cannot reach, nor carry on their work in, the affected area.

These simple examples suffice to show that, raising the standard of life, which is the aim of all Governments, may be influenced by health conditions, by communications and transit, by economic and financial conditions. Health does not stand alone, but is only one factor in a situation, the resultant of many others. There may be need for a union of effort in this field. Not the least need is that the League itself should be in a position to place the experience gained by all three technical organisations at the disposal of Governments seeking assistance of any kind with the object of raising the standard of life and reconstituting certain of their territories on a new and higher plane. The success of international, as well as national, health work is so linked up with economic, financial and social conditions that to select only one of these factors for study and action is to court failure.

I may be pardoned for mentioning these other problems in a report on the work of the Health Organisation; but the experience of the League's Health Organisation has clearly shown the relationship of these factors, and I am sure that this interdependence is fully appreciated by this Committee, which must deal with them all.

So much for the general nature of the work which we are considering. The Assembly will not wish to pass from it without a tribute to those who have carried it out, and first and above all, to the Medical Director, Dr. Rajchman, of whose zeal, devotion and inspiration we have so many continual proofs. He has been well aided by the staff of the Health Section of the Secretariat. Our best thanks are also due to the Health Committee, a small body several of whose members have served from the foundation of the Organisation and have spared no trouble to give the League the technical guidance which it needs. And we must never forget that it is the co-operation of the different health administrations and of the many experts who have given their services in different lands that makes it possible for us to record satisfactory progress from year to year. I should like to ask the Assembly to signify to these experts also our sincere appreciation of their real sacrifices in the cause of international co-operation.

The work of the Health Organisation since the last Assembly will be found described in the documents before you; notably, the annual report of the Medical Director for 1929 and in the report of the Secretariat on the work of the League since the last Assembly and the report on the Singapore Bureau.

Special reference should be made to the important study of malaria prevalence and control carried out by members of the Malaria Commission in India at the invitation of the Government of India, which placed at the disposal of the Commission the treasures of information which they possess. Suggestions arising therefrom will be considered at the forthcoming session of the Health Committee.

At the last Assembly, an account was given of studies on infant mortality carried out in Europe in the selected districts of seven countries. Last July, a conference was held at Lima (Peru) to study the results of the enquiry in the four Latin-American countries—the Argentine, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay. When the child health experts met last year in Rome to consider the results of the European enquiries, they recommended that the health administrations of other countries should undertake similar studies in view of the value of these studies in the campaign against infant mortality. This recommendation has been acted upon by a number of countries in Europe and

Latin America (Czechoslovakia, Peru, Roumania, Spain, Yugoslavia, &c.), and the Assembly will be pleased to learn that the experience and advice of the Health Organisation have been made available to these health administrations.

The success which has attended the enquiries set up in this way into a certain limited aspect of infant welfare suggests that these investigations might well be extended in some or all of the directions indicated in the memorandum already issued. For example, the high rate of mortality during the first days of life, together with the still-birth rate, which apparently remains constant in most countries, is largely due to obstetric causes, and an enquiry into the maternal mortality associated with child-bearing might not only indicate means of reducing the death rate among women, but also of lowering neonatal mortality of infancy.

Much remains to be learned regarding the prevention of respiratory diseases, which are so frequently infective in character; of certain specific diseases, such as whooping-cough or measles. The same applies to the study of the health of the child between infancy and school age, and of the best methods of maintaining nutrition and preventing disease during this period.

The enquiry into the results of the treatment of syphilis is another example of common international conclusions. The records of treatment from selected clinics in five countries are to be subjected to searching analysis according to methods agreed upon by an international group of experts. These experts met this year at Copenhagen to consider questions which had arisen in connection with the analysis of some 23 000 case-records.

In connection with syphilis, I should also like to mention the work of the Health Organisation in connection with the laboratory diagnosis of syphilis. Two important laboratory conferences to compare the results of different methods of laboratory diagnosis have been held in Europe. Feeling the need of such a laboratory comparison of methods in Latin America, the Uruguayan Institute for the Prevention of Syphilis called such a conference at Montevideo, and the Government of Uruguay requested the Health Organisation to select its presiding officer. The facilities of the Health Organisation have been placed at the disposal of the Conference, which is carrying on its work during the present month.

I may draw your attention to the completion last year of the collection of national data relating to the welfare of the blind, and take this occasion to express the hope of my Government—which, I feel sure, will be shared by other Governments—that the several organisations of the League, including the Health Organisation, will keep in touch with the efforts which are being made to develop international co-operation for the welfare of blind persons. The international conference on this subject, which is being planned for 1933, may give a suitable occasion for the liaison desired.

Courses of study, so-called interchanges, have been held in France, Yugoslavia and Roumania during the year. In France, the group of public health officers was given every opportunity to study the new health services which have been built up in the regions where so much reconstructive work has been carried on. The new type of health work in Yugoslavia, designed to improve social and economic as well as health conditions, was studied by a group of 14 health officers, who also spent a fortnight in Roumania, studying new features of the health and medical work. The trouble taken by the authorities in these three countries to make the courses instructive deserves a special word of recognition.

One of the tasks which has fallen upon many European Governments in their attempts at development and reconstruction has been to train public health officers for this work. The several schools of hygiene which have been established for this purpose have needed to exchange experience and compare methods so as to make good progress. The Health Organisation has fostered this exchange of experience and comparison of methods and results by convening the directors together with the leaders of longer-established schools of hygiene from time to time for consultation and discussions.

Meetings of this kind were held at Dresden and Paris during the summer, and the directors not only agreed on certain general principles which should govern the courses of instruction—the field work and training in sanitary engineering—but also decided on a programme of activities, as in most instances these schools and institutes of hygiene have administrative as well as educational responsibilities.

In closing, I should like to insist for a moment, as all my predecessors have done, on the universality of the work of the Health Organisation. This work is being carried out in many countries distributed over all the continents. With this wide geographical distribution on the one hand, and with the diversity of medical and public health problems on the other, the Health Committee has always a difficult task in advising on programmes and progress. The League necessarily looks to that Committee, as well as to its permanent staff, for the careful selection of subjects which the Health Organisation is most fitted to pursue with practical success. The Health Committee is appointed for terms of three years, and the new Committee, the third, will hold its first session at the end of this month.

In this work of reconstruction in which the world is interested, from the economic and social as well as the public health point of view, I ask the Assembly to join me in wishing every success to the work of the new Health Committee, of the Medical Director and the permanent Health Organisation, and of the League.

In connection with the report on the work of the Health Organisation, the Second Committee, on the proposal of its Chairman, discussed the proposal of the Hungarian Government for a study of international reciprocity in the care of the sick.

After discussion, the Committee decided to recommend to the Assembly that this proposal should be communicated to the Health Committee for study and report. The delegate of Hungary having expressed his concurrence, I would invite the Assembly to agree to this course.

ANNEX V.—Report of the Second Committee to the Assembly on the Work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

The last Assembly, in full agreement with the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the Council of the League of Nations, came to the conclusion that it was necessary to hold a general inquiry into the situation with regard to intellectual co-operation. It asked for the constitution of a

of an anti-malaria service within the framework of its health administration. Requests from the Governments of Argentine, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay had as object the undertaking of joint studies into infant mortality. A sanitary survey of certain islands of the Pacific was made at the request of the Government of Australia, and studies of malaria in India were undertaken at the invitation of that Government.

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In like manner, as regards Greece, the recommendations of the Health Organisation made to the Greek Government last year have been followed up, and a plan of reorganisation has been elaborated. The new School of Hygiene will open its doors in November for the admission of candidates for posts in the new public health service, and in the country districts selected for the application of the plan the preliminary work has already been completed.

On the other side of the world, in Bolivia, two expert officers of the Health Section have already, in pursuance of the request of the Bolivian Government, undertaken special health surveys in that country. Reports of this work in China, Greece and Bolivia are to be presented to the Health Committee at its coming session.

Health work has an important reaction on economic conditions. The aim of health work is to raise the standard of life and, to realise this, one has only to consider a malarial region, where the crops lie ungarnered in the field because the harvester is stricken with this disease. A population undermined by disease cannot prosper. On the other hand, economic conditions affect health work favourably or adversely, and even conditions of transit may favour or prevent the solution of health problems. How, for instance, can a modern health service exist in a region without proper communications and transit facilities? Without communications, disease cannot be notified; and without means of transport, the public health and medical services cannot reach, nor carry on their work in, the affected area.

These simple examples suffice to show that, raising the standard of life, which is the aim of all Governments, may be influenced by health conditions, by communications and transit, by economic and financial conditions. Health does not stand alone, but is only one factor in a situation, the resultant of many others. There may be need for a union of effort in this field. Not the least need is that the League itself should be in a position to place the experience gained by all three technical organisations at the disposal of Governments seeking assistance of any kind with the object of raising the standard of life and reconstituting certain of their territories on a new and higher plane. The success of international, as well as national, health work is so linked up with economic, financial and social conditions that to select only one of these factors for study and action is to court failure.

I may be pardoned for mentioning these other problems in a report on the work of the Health Organisation; but the experience of the League's Health Organisation has clearly shown the relationship of these factors, and I am sure that this interdependence is fully appreciated by this Committee, which must deal with them all.

So much for the general nature of the work which we are considering. The Assembly will not wish to pass from it without a tribute to those who have carried it out, and first and above all, to the Medical Director, Dr. Rajchman, of whose zeal, devotion and inspiration we have so many continual proofs. He has been well aided by the staff of the Health Section of the Secretariat. Our best thanks are also due to the Health Committee, a small body several of whose members have served from the foundation of the Organisation and have spared no trouble to give the League the technical guidance which it needs. And we must never forget that it is the co-operation of the different health administrations and of the many experts who have given their services in different lands that makes it possible for us to record satisfactory progress from year to year. I should like to ask the Assembly to signify to these experts also our sincere appreciation of their real sacrifices in the cause of international co-operation.

The work of the Health Organisation since the last Assembly will be found described in the documents before you; notably, the annual report of the Medical Director for 1929 and in the report of the Secretariat on the work of the League since the last Assembly and the report on the Singapore Bureau.

Special reference should be made to the important study of malaria prevalence and control carried out by members of the Malaria Commission in India at the invitation of the Government of India, which placed at the disposal of the Commission the treasures of information which they possess. Suggestions arising therefrom will be considered at the forthcoming session of the Health Committee.

At the last Assembly, an account was given of studies on infant mortality carried out in Europe in the selected districts of seven countries. Last July, a conference was held at Lima (Peru) to study the results of the enquiry in the four Latin-American countries—the Argentine, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay. When the child health experts met last year in Rome to consider the results of the European enquiries, they recommended that the health administrations of other countries should undertake similar studies in view of the value of these studies in the campaign against infant-mortality. This recommendation has been acted upon by a number of countries in Europe and

Latin America (Czechoslovakia, Peru, Roumania, Spain, Yugoslavia, &c.), and the Assembly will be pleased to learn that the experience and advice of the Health Organisation have been made available to these health administrations.

The success which has attended the enquiries set up in this way into a certain limited aspect of infant welfare suggests that these investigations might well be extended in some or all of the directions indicated in the memorandum already issued. For example, the high rate of mortality during the first days of life, together with the still-birth rate, which apparently remains constant in most countries, is largely due to obstetric causes, and an enquiry into the maternal mortality associated with child-bearing might not only indicate means of reducing the death rate among women, but also of lowering neonatal mortality of infancy.

Much remains to be learned regarding the prevention of respiratory diseases, which are so frequently infective in character; of certain specific diseases, such as whooping-cough or measles. The same applies to the study of the health of the child between infancy and school age, and of the best methods of maintaining nutrition and preventing disease during this period.

The enquiry into the results of the treatment of syphilis is another example of common international conclusions. The records of treatment from selected clinics in five countries are to be subjected to searching analysis according to methods agreed upon by an international group of experts. These experts met this year at Copenhagen to consider questions which had arisen in connection with the analysis of some 23 000 case-records.

In connection with syphilis, I should also like to mention the work of the Health Organisation in connection with the laboratory diagnosis of syphilis. Two important laboratory conferences to compare the results of different methods of laboratory diagnosis have been held in Europe. Feeling the need of such a laboratory comparison of methods in Latin America, the Uruguayan Institute for the Prevention of Syphilis called such a conference at Montevideo, and the Government of Uruguay requested the Health Organisation to select its presiding officer. The facilities of the Health Organisation have been placed at the disposal of the Conference, which is carrying on its work during the present month.

I may draw your attention to the completion last year of the collection of national data relating to the welfare of the blind, and take this occasion to express the hope of my Government—which, I feel sure, will be shared by other Governments—that the several organisations of the League, including the Health Organisation, will keep in touch with the efforts which are being made to develop international co-operation for the welfare of blind persons. The international conference on this subject, which is being planned for 1933, may give a suitable occasion for the liaison desired.

Courses of study, so-called interchanges, have been held in France, Yugoslavia and Roumania during the year. In France, the group of public health officers was given every opportunity to study the new health services which have been built up in the regions where so much reconstructive work has been carried on. The new type of health work in Yugoslavia, designed to improve social and economic as well as health conditions, was studied by a group of 14 health officers, who also spent a fortnight in Roumania, studying new features of the health and medical work. The trouble taken by the authorities in these three countries to make the courses instructive deserves a special word of recognition.

One of the tasks which has fallen upon many European Governments in their attempts at development and reconstruction has been to train public health officers for this work. The several schools of hygiene which have been established for this purpose have needed to exchange experience and compare methods so as to make good progress. The Health Organisation has fostered this exchange of experience and comparison of methods and results by convening the directors together with the leaders of longer-established schools of hygiene from time to time for consultation and discussions.

Meetings of this kind were held at Dresden and Paris during the summer, and the directors not only agreed on certain general principles which should govern the courses of instruction—the field work and training in sanitary engineering—but also decided on a programme of activities, as in most instances these schools and institutes of hygiene have administrative as well as educational responsibilities.

In closing, I should like to insist for a moment, as all my predecessors have done, on the universality of the work of the Health Organisation. This work is being carried out in many countries distributed over all the continents. With this wide geographical distribution on the one hand, and with the diversity of medical and public health problems on the other, the Health Committee has always a difficult task in advising on programmes and progress. The League necessarily looks to that Committee, as well as to its permanent staff, for the careful selection of subjects which the Health Organisation is most fitted to pursue with practical success. The Health Committee is appointed for terms of three years, and the new Committee, the third, will hold its first session at the end of this month.

In this work of reconstruction in which the world is interested, from the economic and social as well as the public health point of view, I ask the Assembly to join me in wishing every success to the work of the new Health Committee, of the Medical Director and the permanent Health Organisation, and of the League.

In connection with the report on the work of the Health Organisation, the Second Committee, on the proposal of its Chairman, discussed the proposal of the Hungarian Government for a study of international reciprocity in the care of the sick.

After discussion, the Committee decided to recommend to the Assembly that this proposal should be communicated to the Health Committee for study and report. The delegate of Hungary having expressed his concurrence, I would invite the Assembly to agree to this course.

ANNEX V.—Report of the Second Committee to the Assembly on the Work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation.

The last Assembly, in full agreement with the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and the Council of the League of Nations, came to the conclusion that it was necessary to hold a general inquiry into the situation with regard to intellectual co-operation. It asked for the constitution of a

Committee of Inquiry, whose proposals we now have to consider. This Committee, which sat at Geneva in the course of the year, drew up a report which the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation adopted with slight modifications, the Council also approving its principles.

The Assembly will be glad to learn that the general conclusions of the men of talent and experience who studied the problem of intellectual co-operation this year were extremely favourable to the continuation of the work, which has already produced very valuable and creditable results. They recognised its extreme importance for intellectuals and for the League of Nations itself. They considered that it was an imperative duty for the League to endeavour to promote international relations in the intellectual as in all other spheres, to assist research and to encourage progress by judicious methods of co-operation and comparison, and, further, to improve that mutual comprehension on which concord and peace must be founded.

It will thus be clear that the field of intellectual co-operation is an immense one and that the work devolving upon the League of Nations and its competent organs calls for sustained effort. We shall have to pursue it for many years and, even if we do not immediately achieve the tangible results we all desire, that will be no cause for discouragement. In so great a task, success can only be gradually attained; if intellectual co-operation merely contributes towards developing the international spirit, it will have deserved well of the League.

It is comforting to emphasise the unanimity with which all the bodies that have dealt with intellectual co-operation in the course of the year have acknowledged its extreme importance as a work of mutual aid and *rapprochement*. I hope, not only that we here shall attain the same unanimity of principle, but that we shall also agree on the methods recommended for the execution of this great programme. From the proposals now before the Assembly, it will be seen that the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation wishes the same methods to be adopted for this undertaking of intellectual co-operation as those which have succeeded in other spheres of the League's work. Not only does it desire the utilisation of the existing national organisations and institutions, but it asks that, in order to elucidate the problems submitted to it, contact should be established between highly qualified personalities in the respective countries, thus ensuring the effective co-operation of the existing associations. It considers that it is through these personal relations between authorised and competent experts that progress can be achieved in intellectual matters. This is no new method in the sphere of intellectual co-operation, but its use should, in future, be generalised. The Committee thought that, in these circumstances, its sub-committees, to whose work it wishes to pay a tribute, might be abolished and replaced by Committees of Experts.

The Committee's principal organ, the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation at Paris, will be asked to organise the work of these Committees of Experts which the International Committee recommends. This will be a task of the greatest importance, whose extent will still further enhance the significance of the part played by the Institute. For this work, the Paris Institute, whose part it is desired to strengthen, must obviously have a sufficient measure of freedom and independence to enable it, within the limits defined by the Committee, to discharge this complex task with success, employing the most effectual and the most appropriate methods in each individual case. The Institute will also be instructed, as in the past, to make known the results obtained in a series of publications, the number of which the Committee has decided to increase, and which it desires to be presented in the best possible form.

Quite a considerable part of the Institute's budget will be devoted to these publications and to the organisation of the work of the experts. The Assembly renews the appeal it has already addressed to the Governments to provide the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation with their help and support.

At the same time, the Committee has drawn up the main outlines of a programme and an organisation, leaving the preparation of a definite scheme to an Executive and Directors' Committee directly emanating from the Intellectual Co-operation Committee and specially created to direct the work done in the interval between the Committee's annual sessions. This Committee will also frame the budget for the current year while adjusting it to the needs of the new organisation.

The proposed programme relates to the whole of intellectual life. It must be carried out gradually so as to obtain carefully considered conclusions on each subject. In this programme, which I do not wish to go into in detail, special mention should be made of the proposed inquiry into the intellectual life of our time. The Committee considered that this was a matter on which work could begin immediately, and that, as a result of this inquiry, it could determine the directions in which work could most effectively be done to establish that mutual comprehension which it regards as the essence of intellectual co-operation and as a particularly effectual means of ensuring international concord.

Part of this inquiry will bear on the methods of education at all stages in the different countries and on their comparison. It is also to be hoped that this inquiry will make it possible to determine the most suitable ways and means of intellectual research, and that it will facilitate the establishment of a uniform outlook on the various vital problems of our age.

Turning to another point, the Assembly considers that the attention of Governments should be specially drawn to the utility of the modest but strenuous work done by the bureaux responsible in the different countries for international interchanges of publications. In particular, they should be placed in a position to act as liaison between learned societies for exchanges of their publications and should accordingly be provided with the necessary funds.

Another subject which has always raised the keenest interest in the Assembly is the instruction of youth in the aims of the League of Nations. We think that this subject must, in future, be given increasing prominence. The Sub-Committee of Experts held a meeting this year. In the light of the experience acquired, it revised the recommendations it had already addressed to the Governments with regard to making known to the younger generations the efforts made by the League of Nations to achieve peace. It examined the numbers already published of the *Educational Survey* and decided that its publication should be continued.

Lastly, in accordance with one of its suggestions, the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation asked that the work of the Educational Information Centre of the Geneva Secretariat and of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation should be increased so as to give full satisfaction to the Sub-Committee of Experts and to the Governments.

It would be well, too, if the Assembly urged the Governments to send regularly to the Educational Information Centre the particulars they are asked to supply on instruction regarding the League of Nations in accordance with the last recommendations of the Sub-Committee of Experts.

The Governing Body of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute met last October. Like the Permanent Executive Committee, which has since held several sessions, it noted with the greatest satisfaction that the *International Review of Educational Cinematography*, which is published in five languages, was becoming more and more complete and interesting. The special numbers devoted to the study of certain specific questions, such as the relations between the educational cinema and health or agriculture, will prove of great value.

In the course of the year, the International Educational Cinematographic Institute continued the study of several important questions, including that of the distribution of educational films. In this connection, it prepared a draft Convention, which has already been sent to all the Governments for their observations. This draft provides for the abolition of the Customs barriers which stand in the way of the distribution of educational films. It is to be hoped that the national administrations will give favourable consideration to this request. The Assembly might also recommend that the Governments should signify their interest in the work of the International Educational Cinematographic Institute by giving it their material support.

This rapid survey shows the Assembly that the work of the various organs responsible for intellectual co-operation cannot fail to grow. They have before them a vast programme, whose efficient performance will facilitate the general work of the League of Nations.

ANNEX VI.—*Report of the Third Committee to the Assembly on Reduction of Armaments.*

At the request of the Netherlands Delegation, the Assembly referred to the Third Committee the four questions included in the Chapter "Reduction of Armaments" of the Secretary-General's Report on the Work of the League since the Tenth Session of the Assembly.

1. PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR THE DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE.

During the general discussion in the present Assembly on the work of the League since its Tenth Session, several speakers expressed the opinion that the work of the Preparatory Commission should be completed so that the first General Conference for the Reduction and the Limitation of Armaments might be convened at the earliest possible moment.

At its first meeting, the Third Committee invited M. Loudon, President of the Preparatory Commission, to be present at its meeting when it opened the discussion on the work regarding disarmament. M. Loudon made a statement on the present position with regard to this question. He expressed his regret that it had not been possible to hold a meeting last year, and explained the reasons. The results of the London Conference had a close bearing upon the work of the Preparatory Commission. This connection was implied in the text of the resolution itself, which had been adopted by the last Assembly. The President of the Preparatory Commission was gratified at the results obtained at the Naval Conference, which had enabled him to convene this Commission for 3rd November next. In his capacity as President, he assured the Committee that the Preparatory Commission was firmly resolved to finish its work at its next session.

The Third Committee, in its turn, unanimously expressed the hope that the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference would be able to complete its work during the session which is to open at Geneva on 3rd November next, so as to enable the Council to convene the General Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments at the earliest possible date. Divergent views were expressed as to the advisability of fixing a date for the General Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments. Some delegations were of opinion that the Council should not convene the Conference until the preparatory work necessary for its success had been completed; other delegations thought that, in any case, the Conference should be held during 1931. This latter proposal, submitted by the German Delegation, was supported by a certain number of other delegations.

The German proposal, which differed from the resolution subsequently adopted by the Third Committee, stated, in the first place, the view that disarmament was the principal task of the League, and that the Preparatory Commission had not so far achieved any positive result. In conclusion, it urged the summoning of the General Conference for the Reduction and the Limitation of Armaments during 1931.

In order to arrive at an agreement, the Norwegian Delegation proposed to mention in the report to the Assembly the Committee's desire to see the General Conference convened during 1931. This proposal was unanimously adopted.

2. SPECIAL COMMISSION RESPONSIBLE FOR FRAMING A DRAFT CONVENTION ON THE SUPERVISION OF THE PRIVATE MANUFACTURE AND PUBLICITY OF THE MANUFACTURE OF ARMS AND AMMUNITION AND OF IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.

On 24th September 1929 the Tenth Assembly adopted the following resolution:—

"The Assembly has taken cognisance of the documents forwarded to it by the Council on the work of the Special Commission responsible for framing a draft Convention on the supervision of the private manufacture and publicity of the manufacture of arms and ammunition and of implements of war.

"It recognises the importance of the task entrusted by the Council to the Special Commission.

"The Assembly considers that the organisation of the supervision of private manufacture—the only manufacture referred to in Article 8 of the Covenant—in conjunction with the publicity, to be defined later, of State manufactures, which would place non-producing countries and producing countries on the same footing, would facilitate the entry into force of the Convention on the International Trade in Arms, Ammunition and Implements of War dated 17th June 1925, Geneva.

"It notes, however, that certain reservations have been made in respect of the draft Convention, and that several Governments have said that they are unable to express a final opinion on the methods of securing publicity for State manufactures until they know the conclusions reached by the Preparatory Disarmament Commission on the question of publicity of war material.

"The Assembly therefore requests the Council to consider the desirability, as soon as the Preparatory Commission has concluded its work in connection with the publicity of implements of war, of convening a further meeting of the Special Commission to complete the text of a preliminary draft Convention."

At its meeting on 25th September 1929 the Council noted this resolution and requested the Secretary-General to communicate it to the Special Commission. As the Preparatory Disarmament Commission has not met since that date, the Council has not, so far, been able to convene the Special Commission.

During the discussion of this question in the Third Committee, important statements were made, in particular by M. Jouhaux, who spoke in impressive terms of the necessity of regulating the private manufacture of arms, ammunition and implements of war. He stated that, notwithstanding moral condemnation and the restrictions expressly provided for in the Covenant, the manufacture of arms is developing freely and constitutes a danger to peace. After mentioning certain regrettable incidents which have recently occurred in connection with this question, M. Jouhaux referred to the historical development of the work relating to private manufacture, and came to the conclusion that the study of this question was sufficiently advanced to enable a Convention to be framed. He considered it fortunate that the question of State manufacture should have been linked up with this question, thus preventing the conclusion of a Convention for the supervision of the private manufacture of arms.

Other authoritative statements having been made emphasising the urgency of this problem, the Third Committee, on the proposal of the Chairman, was unanimous in desiring that the Special Commission should be convened immediately after the close of the work of the Preparatory Commission.

3. SUPERVISION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE IN ARMS AND AMMUNITION AND IN IMPLEMENTS OF WAR.

The Convention signed in 1925 for the supervision of the international trade in arms and ammunition and in implements of war has not yet entered into force, since the 14 ratifications required have not yet been secured.

On 1st March 1930 the British Government informed the Secretary-General of its intention to propose that the Council should summon a Conference of signatory States to consider the best means of bringing the Convention into force with the least possible delay. This proposal led to new ratifications, though the number necessary for the entry into force of the Convention has not yet been obtained.

At the Council session in May 1930 this proposal was discussed, and the British representative stated his willingness to postpone the question until after the next session of the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference. This view was shared by the Third Committee, which, except for the communication of a new forthcoming ratification of the Convention—that of Belgium—has not discussed the supervision of the international trade in arms and ammunition and in implements of war.

4. STATISTICAL INFORMATION ON THE TRADE IN ARMS, AMMUNITION AND IMPLEMENTS OF WAR. ARMAMENTS YEAR-BOOK.

As regards the Armaments Year-Book and the Statistical Year-Book of the Trade in Arms, Ammunition and Implements of War, which are published regularly in virtue of the decisions adopted by the Council of the League of Nations, it was noted that the latest editions of these publications have been circulated to the Members of the League.

ANNEX VII.—*Report of the Third Committee to the Assembly on the Convention on Financial Assistance.*

Since the Ninth Assembly, the League of Nations has studied the idea of giving financial assistance to a State in case of war or threat of war as a new means of increasing the guarantees of security, more particularly with a view to preventing war.

The Financial Committee and the Committee on Arbitration and Security have dealt more particularly with this problem, and it is owing to their co-operation that the text which your Committee had to discuss was drawn up. The Assembly will certainly desire to express its appreciation of the work done by these Committees, and to convey its thanks to them.

It may be briefly mentioned that, in accordance with the instructions given them by the Ninth Assembly, the two Committees first of all submitted a preliminary draft to the Tenth Assembly. When, however, this preliminary draft was discussed, it was seen that certain questions were not yet ripe for a satisfactory solution. The Tenth Assembly, after noting the various views expressed by the delegations, merely emphasised the importance of the draft and the necessity of its being further examined. It accordingly requested the Council to ask the Committee on Arbitration and Security to resume the study of the question in co-operation with the Financial Committee with a view to framing a Convention which could be accepted by the Eleventh Assembly and signed during the present session.

The Financial Committee and the Committee on Arbitration and Security successfully settled almost all the difficulties noted by the Tenth Assembly.

As a result of the goodwill displayed by its members, the Third Committee can, in turn, congratulate itself on reconciling the remaining divergent views and making certain improvements in the text of the Convention.

The Assembly is familiar with the general structure of this instrument. It accordingly seems unnecessary to comment generally on its provisions and explain its principles.

It might, however, be well to indicate certain points which have engaged the special attention of the Third Committee.

The Assembly is aware that the conditions governing the provision of financial assistance in case of war (Article 1) were laid down by the Committee on Arbitration and Security. In the first place, the principle was recognised that, should resort be had to war in violation of international obligations, the State which is attacked is entitled to financial assistance; and in the second place, the Council retains power to adopt a different decision at its discretion.

Nevertheless, the most important question, the question whether financial assistance would be granted, not only in case of war, but also in case of a threat of war (Article 2), remained unsettled. Certain delegations feared that the application of financial assistance before the outbreak of war might endanger the mediating action of the Council, or that the State receiving the loan might change its attitude once it was in possession of the financial assistance.

This highly controversial point was settled by a compromise formula. The formula makes the right of granting financial assistance in the case of an international dispute likely to lead to a rupture dependent upon a twofold condition—one of the parties to the dispute must have failed to conform to the steps taken by the Council; further, the Council must be of opinion that peace cannot be safeguarded otherwise. Naturally, if the financial assistance should not appear likely to prevent war, the other party being determined in any case to resort thereto, the Council would nevertheless not be prevented from providing it.

Articles 1 and 2 of the Convention lay down that the State receiving financial assistance must undertake to submit the dispute to judicial or arbitral settlement or to any other pacific procedure which the Council may deem suitable. Obviously, if the parties were bound by treaty stipulation pledging them to submit their dispute to a pacific procedure, the Council would call upon them in the first place to resort to that procedure.

Another question which engaged the attention of the Third Committee was that of the scale of allocation, fixing the amount which each State should guarantee in respect of loans issued under the Convention. It thought it desirable to adopt, in Article 7, the present scale of allocation for the League's expenses, so that Parliaments, when discussing the ratification of the Convention, may be in a position to know precisely the maximum financial burden to which they may be liable.

If for this reason the Committee was led to choose the scale at present in force, it did not, for the same reason, think it possible to provide for a revision of the scale, in the body of the Convention, at the time or when the latter falls to be renewed. This renewal will be automatic, and will not necessitate any new act on the part of the Governments or Parliaments.

The Committee clearly realised that certain Governments might be adversely affected by the fact that the scale of allocation of the League's expenses might subsequently be modified to their advantage, while their obligations under the Convention would continue to be reckoned on the basis of the former scale. Nevertheless, the advantages of basing the Convention on an already existing scale and of retaining the possibility of an automatic renewal of the Convention was so obvious that the Third Committee did not think it could modify the text on these two points. It is understood, however, that it will always be possible for a contracting party, before the Convention is renewed, to enter into negotiations with the other contracting parties if it desires the adoption of a new scale.

As regards the authorisation of loans, referred to in Article 14, the Swedish Government desired, for constitutional reasons peculiar to Sweden, that mention should be made in the Convention not only of "the Government" but also of "any other competent authority" for contracting the loan in question. The Committee thought that it would be enough if the Swedish representative, when signing the Convention, made a declaration as to the competent authority of his country; the representatives of the other Governments would take note of this declaration.

Moreover, the Committee supplemented the provisions of Article 15 by laying down, in para. 3, that the Protocol regulating in each particular case the conditions as to the loan should contain, in the case of Article 2, provisions enabling the Council to suspend at any moment the payment to the Government receiving the loan of such part of the proceeds of the loan as is not yet paid, if such a measure is rendered necessary by the attitude of the party in question after financial assistance has been granted to it.

The Third Committee thought it desirable to be content with this general stipulation and to leave it to the Council or the organs designated by the Council to lay down in the said Protocol, if necessary, all conditions appropriate in the particular case.

Moreover, the suspension of payments provided for in the Convention allows the Council great latitude. This suspension may, according to circumstances, be short or long, or even definitive.

The Third Committee thought it necessary that the decision suspending the loan should be taken by a unanimous vote, and it modified Article 28, para. 1, in this sense.

As regards Article 25, the British Delegation stated that the British Government would facilitate to the utmost of its power the issuing of loans; but that the undertaking as to the "opening of the financial market" appearing in the Article could not apply to the London market, as the issue of loans on that market does not depend on Government authorisation. The Committee noted this observation, which also covers the case of the other countries in a similar position.

As regards the link to be established between the present Convention and the limitation and reduction of armaments (Article 35), various views were revealed as to whether the entry into force of the Convention should be postponed until the entry into force of some such plan. Certain delegations considered that, since it was a question of an important means of preventing war, and one likely to increase security, it would be desirable not to wait for the entry into force of a plan for the reduction of armaments, but to secure the application of the Convention as soon as possible. Other delegations, however, pointed out that their countries would not be prepared to accept the burdens imposed by a Convention on Financial Assistance unless these burdens were compensated for by the advantages of a general reduction of armaments.

Under these circumstances, the Third Committee decided to make the entry into force and the maintenance in force of the present Convention conditional upon the entry into force and the maintenance in force of a plan for the reduction of armaments adopted in execution of Article 8 of

the Covenant. This interdependence is secured in such a manner that the Convention for Financial Assistance will not apply in respect of a contracting party unless this plan is in force for that party.

In order to ensure the rapid working of the Convention on Financial Assistance upon its entry into force, the Third Committee thought it desirable that arrangements should be made in advance, so far as possible, for the technical application of the Convention. It considers that the Council should call upon the Financial Committee to take suitable steps for this purpose.

The Assembly will certainly be of opinion that the Convention should be opened for signature to all the Members of the League immediately upon its adoption, and that an urgent appeal should be made to all delegations to sign the Convention during the present session, as was suggested by the Tenth Assembly.

Convention on Financial Assistance.

PREAMBLE.

[Heads of States.]

Recognising the importance, as a means of safeguarding or, if necessary, restoring peace between nations, of creating a system of financial assistance in the form of guarantees for loans to be given in the event of international disputes likely to lead to a rupture or in case of war;

Considering that such a system of assistance can best be organised by the conclusion of an international convention;

Have appointed as their plenipotentiaries for this purpose :

Who, having communicated their full powers found in good and due form, have agreed as follows :

CASES IN WHICH FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE IS GRANTED.

Article 1.

1. If, despite the efforts which the Council of the League of Nations has found it possible to make for the maintenance or the re-establishment of peaceful relations, a State, in violation of its international obligations, resorts to war against a High Contracting Party, the latter shall at his request receive the financial assistance provided for in the present Convention, unless the Council decides otherwise.

2. The High Contracting Party to whom financial assistance is granted undertakes, for his part, to submit the dispute to judicial or arbitral settlement, or to any other pacific procedure which the Council may deem suitable.

Article 2.

1. If the Council, in the performance of its duties under the Covenant, and acting within the limit of its rights under the Covenant or under general or special conventions applicable in the circumstances shall, in any international dispute likely to lead to a rupture, have taken steps to safeguard peace, including resort to mediation or any other means of peaceful settlement, and if one of the parties shall refuse or neglect to conform to such steps, the Council may, at the request of the other party, if the latter is a party to the present Convention, grant financial assistance to the last-named party, provided it considers that peace cannot be safeguarded otherwise.

2. The High Contracting Party to whom financial assistance is granted undertakes, for his part, to submit the dispute to judicial or arbitral settlement or to any other pacific procedure which the Council may deem suitable and to conform to any provisional measures that may be recommended by the Council with a view to safeguarding peace.

Article 3.

The financial assistance of the High Contracting Parties shall take the form of ordinary guarantees and special guarantees covering, as hereafter provided, the service of loans (which term shall include short-term credits) contracted in accordance with the present Convention.

Article 4.

For the purpose of the present Convention, the service of a loan comprises the sums payable in each year for interest and amortisation, under the terms of the loan contracts.

Article 5.

No loan contracted under the present Convention shall be for a period exceeding 30 years. In order to facilitate, so soon as circumstances permit, the discharge of the ordinary guarantor and special guarantor Governments from their obligations in regard to the loan, a Government contracting a loan under this Convention shall, if possible, reserve the right to repay it before the end of its full period of maturity.

ORDINARY GUARANTEES.

Article 6.

Each High Contracting Party undertakes and recognises that the Governments for which he becomes a party to the present Convention severally guarantee as ordinary guarantors, to the extent and in the manner set out in the following articles, the due payment of the annual service of the loans which are contracted. The said ordinary guarantees attach to each loan in virtue of the present Convention from the moment at which the loan is authorised, without any further action or consent on the part of the guarantor Government.

Article 7.

1.—(a) Subject to the provisions of Article 19 regarding payment of interest in the event of default, the annual liability which can fall to the charge of any Government in the capacity of an ordinary guarantor, in respect of all the loans contracted in accordance with the present Convention, is limited to a maximum. This maximum shall be a sum bearing the same proportion to 100 million gold francs as the contribution to the League's expenses payable by the Government, under the scale of allocation applicable on 1st January 1930, bears to the total contributions due from all the Members of the League.

(b) In the case of a Government which was not liable to contribute to the League's expenses under the scale mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the scale of allocation in force on the date on which it became bound by the obligations of the present Convention shall be applied to it.

2. The Council shall, as soon as possible, notify to the various Governments the maximum annual liabilities which result for them from the provisions of para. 1.

SPECIAL GUARANTEES.*Article 8.*

Subject to the provisions of Article 11, a High Contracting Party may accept the obligations of a special guarantor in respect of the Government of any of his territories. Such Government is thereby constituted a special guarantor, and the guarantee which it accords to loans to be contracted in accordance with the present Convention shall be a special guarantee within the meaning of the present Convention, without any further action or consent on the part of the Government.

Article 9.

The special guarantees are created for the purpose of strengthening the security on which a loan contracted in accordance with the present Convention is issued, by ensuring that the service of such loan shall be guaranteed for its full amount, not merely by all the guaranteeing Governments as ordinary guarantors, but also by a small number of Governments which, as special guarantors, will bear, within the limits of their special guarantees, the risk of any delay in the payment of the amounts due from any of the other Governments as ordinary guarantors. The amount covered by each special guarantee accordingly includes the amount of the Government's liability as an ordinary guarantor together with an additional amount, and it is determined, as provided below, in such manner that the total of the additional amounts thus guaranteed by the special guarantor Governments will equal the total amount guaranteed by the Governments which are ordinary guarantors only. In the event of a default by the borrowing Government on the service of the loan, the total amount covered by a special guarantee is payable in full; but the sum paid by a special guarantor Government in excess of its liability as an ordinary guarantor is reimbursable, after the service has been met, out of the balance of the amounts collected from the guaranteeing Governments.

Article 10.

1. Subject to the provisions of Article 19 regarding the payment of interest in the event of default, the annual liability which may fall to the charge of any special guarantor Government in respect of all the loans contracted in accordance with the present Convention is limited to a maximum which includes the Government's obligation as an ordinary guarantor and the additional amount covered by its special guarantee. This maximum shall be determined by dividing the sum total of the maximum obligations of all the Governments, as ordinary guarantors, among the special guarantor Governments in proportion to their respective maximum obligations as ordinary guarantors.

2. The said maximum liabilities of the special guarantor Governments shall be notified to them by the Council of the League of Nations as soon as possible. They shall be revised by the Council, in the event of any change in the number of Governments which are ordinary guarantors or of those which are special guarantors, as soon as possible after such change has occurred.

Article 11.

1. The following Governments may be special guarantors under the present Convention:—

- (a) The Governments of permanent Members of the Council of the League of Nations;
- (b) The Governments of other Members of the League which are unanimously invited to become special guarantors by those Governments which themselves are special guarantors.

Such invitation may be given either before or after the entry into force of the Convention.

2. Acceptance of the obligations of a special guarantor may be intimated at the moment of signature or at that of ratification or at the moment of accession to the Convention, or subsequently by a declaration in writing deposited with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who shall notify such acceptance to all the other Members of the League.

Article 12.

The Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall send to the Trustees provided for in Article 13 a certified true copy of each notification of its maximum liability made to a Government in execution of Article 7 or Article 10.

TRUSTEES.*Article 13.*

1. Upon the entry into force of the present Convention, the Council of the League of Nations shall appoint five persons to act as Trustees of loans contracted in accordance with the present Convention. The Trustees shall be nationals of the Swiss Confederation and habitually resident in Switzerland.

2.—(a) The Trustees shall be appointed for periods of five years. At the end of their term of office, they may be reappointed for the like or any less period. A Trustee may at any time resign on giving three months' previous notice in writing to the Council of the League of Nations.

(b) The Council of the League of Nations may at any time remove a Trustee.

(c) In the event of a vacancy occurring for any reason in the office of Trustee, the Council of the League of Nations shall without delay appoint another Trustee. If, in his opinion, it is necessary to do so, the Acting President of the Council may appoint a person to act until the vacancy is filled by the Council.

3.—(a) The Trustees shall appoint from their number a Chairman and Deputy-Chairman and draw up their rules of procedure subject to the provisions of the present Convention. Except in the case mentioned in Article 16, para. 1, meetings shall be convened by the Chairman or, if he is unable to act, by the Deputy-Chairman.

(b) Three Trustees shall constitute a quorum. All decisions may be taken by a majority; in case of equality of votes, the presiding Trustee shall have a casting vote.

(c) The Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall be entitled to be present or be represented at all meetings of the Trustees.

(d) The expenses incurred by the Trustees in executing their functions in connection with any loan and such honoraria for the performance of those functions as may be fixed by the Council of the League of Nations shall be paid by the borrowing Government.

(e) The Council of the League of Nations may advance to the Trustees the amounts referred to in para. (d); any sum so advanced shall be repaid to the League by the borrowing Government.

(f) No Trustee shall incur any personal liability in the execution of his functions as Trustee, except for a breach of his duties knowingly and intentionally committed by him.

(g) The Trustees shall report annually to the Council of the League of Nations upon the execution of their functions as Trustees of each loan contracted in accordance with the present Convention; they shall be entitled at any time to bring to the attention of the Council any difficulties experienced by them in performing such functions.

AUTHORISATION OF LOANS.

Article 14.

1. Where the Council of the League of Nations recognises that, in virtue of Articles 1 or 2, a High Contracting Party should receive financial assistance under the present Convention, it shall authorise the Government of such High Contracting Party to issue a loan enjoying the ordinary guarantees and the special guarantees resulting from the present Convention. The Council may exclude the ordinary guarantee or special guarantee of any Government if, in its opinion, it would not be desirable in the interest of the success of the loan that such ordinary guarantee or special guarantee should attach to the loan.

2.—(a) The maximum sum to which the service of the loan may amount in each year shall be fixed by the Council. The sum fixed by the Council shall be expressed in gold francs as defined in Article 26, and for the purpose of determining the sum to which the service may amount in the currencies in which the loan is actually contracted, the value of those currencies shall in all cases be assumed to be, at the moment of signature of the loan contracts, that of their legal weight in pure gold.

(b) The annual sum fixed for the service of the loan in any year shall not exceed the amount which can be covered by special as well as by ordinary guarantees without imposing on any Government a liability in excess of the maximum fixed by the present Convention.

(c) The amount for each year of each Government's liability as an ordinary guarantor shall be determined by dividing the service of the loan among all the guaranteeing Governments in the proportion of their maximum possible annual liabilities as ordinary guarantors under this Convention, as fixed by Article 7. The total amount covered by each special guarantee shall be determined by dividing the said service among the special guarantor Governments in the proportion of their maximum possible annual liabilities as special guarantors as fixed by Article 10. For the purpose, however, of simplifying the application of the special guarantees, the Council, with the consent of the special guarantor Governments whose liabilities are affected, may make minor fractional adjustments of the percentages attributable to the special guarantor Governments to the extent necessary to convert such percentages into convenient whole numbers.

3. For the purpose of the preceding provisions, no account shall be taken of the liability for interest which may result under the provisions of Article 19 from a default by a Government in meeting its obligations as an ordinary or as a special guarantor.

ISSUE OF AUTHORISED LOANS.

Article 15.

1. The Council shall require that the conditions and terms of issue of a loan contracted in accordance with the present Convention, that is to say, *inter alia*, the method of issue, the securities (if any) on which the loan is raised, the issue price, the rate of interest, the amortisation (including any stipulations as to repayment before maturity), the expenses of issue, negotiation and delivery, and the currency or currencies in which the loan is issued, shall be submitted for approval to it or to a person or persons appointed by it for the purpose. As provided in Article 14, para. 2 (a), the value of the currencies in which the loan is issued and in which its service is payable shall in every case, for the purpose of determining the maximum to which the service may amount, be assumed to be, at the moment of signature of the loan contracts, that of their legal weight in pure gold. The arrangement made by the Council with the borrowing Government in question shall be embodied in a Protocol only accepted by the latter.

2. The Council may make conditions as to the employment of the proceeds of the loan and the supervision of such employment. These conditions shall be embodied in the Protocol.

3. In the case of a loan issued in execution of Article 2 of the present Convention, the Protocol provided for in para. 1 above shall contain provisions enabling the Council to suspend at any moment the payment to the Government receiving the loan of such part of the proceeds of the loan as is not yet paid if the Council considers that such a measure is rendered necessary by the attitude of that Government after financial assistance has been granted to it.

4. The loan shall not possess the ordinary guarantees and special guarantees resulting from the Convention, unless the contracts relating to it shall have been certified in writing by a person or persons appointed by the Council—and acting in the second case by majority—to be in conformity with the decisions of the Council and the Protocol provided for by para. 1 above, and the provisions of the present Convention. A signed duplicate of the certificate shall be delivered to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations for communication to the Trustees, together with copies of each contract authenticated by the borrowing Government in sufficient number to enable him to send one to each Trustee.

5. The following provisions shall be obligatory in all cases :—

- (a) The Trustees appointed under the present Convention, acting as provided therein, shall be Trustees of the loan for all purposes for which Trustees are appointed, and in particular shall make all payments for interest or amortisation due on the loan out of the funds supplied by the borrowing Government or, in the event of its default, by the Governments guaranteeing the loan as special or ordinary guarantors.
- (b) Except in the case of short-term credits of a currency not exceeding two years, a reserve shall be constituted in the hands of the Trustees by the direct transfer to them by the issuing houses out of the yield of the loan of an amount sufficient to pay one-half of the annual service of the loan as issued. Any sums drawn from this reserve by the Trustees shall immediately be refunded to them by the borrowing Government.
- (c) The borrowing Government shall provide the Trustees with the funds necessary to meet the service of the loan in time of war as well as in time of peace. Such remittances shall be in the hands of the Trustees not later than 30 days before each payment falls due.

DEPOSIT OF BONDS IN RESPECT OF PARTICULAR LOANS.

Article 16.

1. As soon as possible after a contract for the issue of all or part of an authorised loan has been certified in accordance with Article 15, para. 4, the Trustees, convened by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, shall examine the contract and the relevant decisions of the Council and ascertain and notify to the Governments whose guarantees attached to the loan :—

- (a) What is the total amount of each payment due in respect of that issue in each year;
- (b) What is the maximum sum for which each Government, whether it be an ordinary or a special guarantor, may be liable as an ordinary guarantor in respect of each such payment;
- (c) What is the maximum sum for which each special guarantor Government may be liable as a special guarantor in respect of each such payment.

The sums mentioned in (b) and (c) shall be determined in the manner provided in Article 14, para. 2 (c).

2. Within four months of the receipt of the above notification, each Government, according as it is solely an ordinary guarantor or a special guarantor, shall deposit to the order of the Trustees with such bank or other body as the Council, as soon as the Convention comes into force, or subsequently, may choose, either an "Ordinary Guarantee Bond" in the form given in Annex I or a "Special Guarantee Bond" in the form given in Annex II, bearing a separate coupon for each payment for which the Government may be liable in each year. The coupons shall be expressed and be payable in the currency in which payment is due to the bondholders. If the issue is made in more than one currency, separate bonds shall be deposited in respect of the service due in each currency.

3. The coupons of the said bonds shall be payable at an address satisfactory to the Trustees fixed by the Government.

4. The omission to deposit bonds, as provided above, shall in no way affect the obligations of the Governments, whether as ordinary or as special guarantors, or prevent the issue of the loan on the security of the ordinary guarantees and special guarantees which attach to it in virtue of the present Convention.

OPERATION OF THE ORDINARY GUARANTEES AND SPECIAL GUARANTEES IN THE EVENT OF DEFAULT BY THE BORROWING GOVERNMENT.

Article 17.

1.—(a) The service of loans contracted in accordance with the present Convention shall always continue to be primarily a charge upon the borrowing Government. The guarantees provided under the Convention shall enter into operation only if, and to the extent to which, the Trustees are neither provided with the necessary funds by the borrowing Government nor able to meet the service out of the reserve constituted in accordance with Article 15, para. 5 (b).

(b) In such a case, the Trustees shall call simultaneously on all the guaranteeing Governments, whether they be ordinary or special guarantors. They shall apply the yield of the calls to meet the service of the loan and shall then reimburse to the special guarantor Governments *pro rata* out of the balance of such yield the amounts paid by them in excess of their liabilities as ordinary guarantors. Delay by a guarantor Government in meeting a call is recognised as creating a duty to compensate special guarantor Governments as provided in Articles 19 and 21 for the prejudice caused to them by the resulting delay in the reimbursement of the amounts paid by them in excess of their liability as ordinary guarantors.

(c) All amounts obtained by the Trustees from the guaranteeing Governments, with the exception of the amounts reimbursed as contemplated in para. (b) and of amounts paid to them by way of interest under Article 19, shall constitute a debt due, with interest, from the borrowing Government.

(d) The liabilities between Governments which result from the present Convention shall be settled through the intermediary of the Trustees.

2. The principles set out in para. 1 shall be applied in accordance with the provisions of Articles 18 to 22 below.

Article 18.

1. In the event of a default by the borrowing Government in providing funds to pay the annual service of an authorised loan, the Trustees shall draw on the reserve constituted by application of Article 15, para. 5(b), until that reserve is exhausted. They shall at once notify the default to the Governments whose ordinary guarantees or special guarantees attach to the loan. They shall likewise notify any payments into the reserve.

2. If, 30 days before the date at which a payment for interest or amortisation falls due, the Trustees have neither received from the borrowing Government nor possess in the reserve sufficient funds to make the payment, they shall inform each guarantor Government of the amount of the deficiency and the amount for which it will be liable if the deficiency is not made good. If 20 days before the due date of the payment, the Trustees still are unable to make it in full, they shall present for payment those coupons of the ordinary guarantee and special guaranteed bonds which cover the service payment in question. If the deficiency is not total, the Trustees shall reduce *pro rata* the amounts which they call upon the guarantor Governments to pay on the said coupons, and the coupons shall be endorsed accordingly. If a guarantor Government has not yet deposited its bond as required by Article 16, the Trustees shall nevertheless call upon it, and it shall be liable to make the payment due from it.

3. The calls which are made by the Trustees upon the ordinary guarantor and special guarantor Governments shall be paid immediately by the said Governments to the Trustees notwithstanding that they may be at war with the borrowing Government or with any country or countries in which a part of the loan has been issued, and notwithstanding that the holders of any or all of the bonds of the series of the loan in the service of which the default has occurred may be subjects of, or resident in, a country or countries with which they are at war.

4. The Trustees shall meet the service of the loan out of the yield of the calls made upon the Governments and shall apply the balance, and their receipts from any calls which are paid at a later date, to reimbursing *pro rata* to the special guarantor Governments the amounts paid by them in excess of their liabilities as ordinary guarantors.

Article 19.

If an ordinary guarantor or special guarantor Government fails to meet in full a call by the Trustees by a date not later than 10 days before the interest or amortisation payment in question falls due, the Trustees shall charge the said Government, and the Government shall pay to them, compound interest on the amount in arrears at the rate fixed by Article 21. This charge shall be considered as interest due to those special guarantor Governments which met their obligations by the said date, in consideration of the fact that the delay was calculated to retard payment of the sums reimbursable to them, and the sums received shall be paid over to the said special guarantor Governments in proportion to the amount paid by them in excess of their liabilities as ordinary guarantors.

Article 20.

1. The amount of each default by the borrowing Government in meeting a guaranteed payment due on a loan shall constitute a debt of that Government to the Trustees, bearing compound interest at the rate mentioned in Article 21, as from the date at which the Government was due to provide the Trustees with the funds necessary for the service of the loan.

2. The payments received by the Trustees from the borrowing Government after it has defaulted in meeting the guaranteed service of its loan shall, if necessary, be applied in the first instance to making good any arrears in the guaranteed service of the loan which have occurred, notwithstanding the ordinary guarantees and special guarantees provided by the present Convention, and, secondly, to reconstituting the reserve provided for by Article 15, para. 5 (b). Subject to this provision, any amounts not required for meeting the current service of the loan shall be used to reimburse to the special guarantor and ordinary guarantor Governments, with the appropriate interest, the amounts which they have furnished to meet defaults in the service of the loan and which have not been reimbursed to them. Each Government shall be entitled to be reimbursed the sum paid by it in the capacity of an ordinary guarantor with compound interest at the rate mentioned in Article 21, as from the date of its payment to the Trustees. Each special guarantor Government shall, in addition, be entitled to receive the amount paid in excess of its liability as an ordinary guarantor, together with its share of any interest chargeable to other Governments under Article 19. Priority shall be given to reimbursement to the special guarantor Governments of the amounts paid by them in excess of their liabilities as ordinary guarantors, and the sums due in respect of earlier defaults shall be met in full before any payment is made in respect of later defaults. Subject to the above provisions, the reimbursement shall be effected *pro rata* to the sums due to the various Governments.

3. A reimbursement to the special guarantor Governments effected under para. 2 shall cancel *pro rata* the claims of these Governments against other ordinary or special guarantor Governments. The Trustees shall determine what liabilities are extinguished or reduced and notify the Governments concerned.

Article 21.

The compound interest provided for in Articles 19 and 20 shall be calculated half-yearly and shall be at a rate 1 per cent. higher than the rate of interest payable on the guaranteed loan, or, if the loan was issued in several series, on the particular series in the service of which the default occurs.

Article 22.

All questions arising in the execution of Articles 16 to 21 inclusive shall be settled by the Trustees, subject to appeal by any Government concerned to the Council of the League of Nations, whose decision shall be final. The appeal to the Council shall not suspend the execution of the Trustees' decision.

GUARANTEE OF STATES NOT MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.*Article 23.*

The Council of the League of Nations, with the consent of those Governments which are interested in the particular loan as special guarantors, may accept an offer by a State which is not a Member of the League to participate in guaranteeing the annual service of a particular loan which the Council decides to authorise in application of the present Convention. The acceptance of the offer shall not entail the assumption by any Government, whether as an ordinary or as a special guarantor, of liability to make payments greater than it would have been liable to make if the non-Member State had not agreed to participate.

GENERAL PROVISIONS.*Article 24.*

The Trustees shall, if so directed by the Council of the League of Nations, suspend all payments to, or for the benefit of, the Government or inhabitants of a territory to which the financial sanctions provided for in Article 16 of the Covenant have become applicable; the sums retained by the Trustees shall become payable, together with any interest which they may have earned, so soon as the Council shall be of opinion that the maintenance of the said sanctions is no longer justified.

Article 25.

The ordinary or special guarantor Governments undertake to facilitate to the fullest possible extent the issue of loans authorised under the present Convention, both by opening their financial markets to such loans and by abstaining from any measure capable of compromising the efficacy of the financial assistance provided for by the present Convention.

Article 26.

For the purposes of the present Convention, the gold franc shall mean a monetary value equivalent to 0.322581 gramme or 1.97818 grains of gold nine-tenths fine.

Article 27.

Any dispute as to the interpretation or as to the method of application of the present Convention shall be settled by a decision of the Council of the League of Nations.

Article 28.

1. Decisions of the Council under Articles 1 or 2 or those suspending the loan in accordance with Article 15, para. 3, shall be taken by the unanimous vote of the Members represented at the meeting, the votes of representatives of the parties to the dispute not being counted in determining such unanimity.

2. All other decisions taken by the Council in virtue of the present Convention shall be taken by a simple majority vote of the Members represented at the meeting, the votes of the representatives of the parties to the dispute not being counted.

3. A Member of the League which is not a Member of the Council cannot claim to sit on the Council, when the latter discusses questions arising under the present Convention, in virtue solely of the fact that it is an ordinary guarantor or special guarantor under the present Convention.

Article 29.

The provisions of the present Convention may not be interpreted as affecting the rights and obligations of the High Contracting Parties under the provisions of Article 16 of the Covenant.

FINAL PROVISIONS.*Article 30.*

1. The present Convention, of which the French and English texts shall both be authentic, shall bear to-day's date; it may, until 31st December 1931, be signed on behalf of any Member of the League of Nations.

2. The present Convention shall be ratified. The instruments of ratification shall be transmitted to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who shall notify their receipt to all the Members of the League.

Article 31.

As from 1st January 1932, the present Convention may be acceded to on behalf of any Member of the League of Nations. The instruments of accession shall be transmitted to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who shall notify their receipt to all the Members of the League.

Article 32.

It shall be a condition of the entry into force of the present Convention that the ratifications or accessions which it has received shall have resulted in causing a sum of not less than 50 million gold francs, for the annual service of loans, to be covered by ordinary guarantees and also by the special guarantees of not less than three Governments.

Article 33.

1. The present Convention shall enter into force 90 days after the date on which the conditions provided for in Article 32 are satisfied and subject to the provisions of Article 35.

2. The Secretary-General shall make the calculations necessary for the purpose of Article 32. He shall notify the entry into force of the Convention to all the Members of the League.

3. In the case of a Member of the League of Nations on whose behalf a ratification or accession is subsequently deposited, the Convention shall take effect on the day on which the instrument of ratification or accession is deposited with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

4. The total maximum amount covered by ordinary guarantees in accordance with Article 7 on the date of entry into force of the Convention, and any subsequent increase in that amount resulting from a new ratification or accession, shall be notified to all the Members of the League by the Secretary-General.

Article 34.

Subject to the conditions laid down in Article 35, the following provisions shall apply:—

1. The present Convention shall be concluded for a period continuing until the end of the year 1945.

2. It shall continue in force for further successive periods of five years as between such High Contracting Parties as do not denounce it at least two years before the expiration of the current period.

3. Denunciation shall be effected by a written notification deposited with the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, who shall notify its receipt to all the Members of the League. A denunciation may relate merely to the guarantee of the Government of a particular territory of the High Contracting Party.

4. Notwithstanding the provisions of para. 2, the Convention shall cease to be in force, so far as it relates to the authorisation of new loans, at the end of the original period for which it is concluded, or of any successive period for which it continues in force, if at that date, as a result of denunciations or of the operation of para. 7 below, the annual sum to which the ordinary guarantees amount is less than 50 million gold francs or the number of special guarantor Governments has fallen below three.

5.—(a) The obligations of any Government in respect of loans already authorised in virtue of the present Convention shall not be affected by denunciation of the Convention, or by its ceasing to be in force, under the provisions of para. 4 above or of Article 35.

(b) The Council of the League of Nations and the Trustees shall continue to exercise in respect of loans already authorised all the functions attributed to them by the present Convention until such loans have been repaid in full.

6. If the ratifications or accessions necessary to bring the present Convention into force have not been received before the end of the year 1935, the Council of the League of Nations shall convene a conference to examine the situation.

7. Withdrawal or exclusion from the League of Nations shall, on the date on which it becomes effective, terminate all the rights and obligations of the Government concerned under the present Convention, except such obligations as already rest upon it in consequence of the previous authorisation of a loan in application of the Convention.

Article 35.

1. The entry into force of the present Convention, and its maintenance in force as regards the authorisation of new loans, shall be conditional, in respect of each of the High Contracting Parties, upon the entry into force and maintenance in force, in respect of that Party, of a plan for the reduction of armaments adopted in execution of Article 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

2. Notwithstanding the provisions of Articles 1, 2 and 14, if, after the expiration of one year from the entry into force of the plan referred to above, a High Contracting Party is not acting in conformity with his obligations under such plan, he shall not benefit by the financial assistance provided for by the present Convention.

Article 36.

The present Convention shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations on the date of its entry into force.

IN FAITH WHEREOF, the above-mentioned plenipotentiaries have signed the present Convention.

DONE at the day of one thousand nine hundred and in a single copy, which shall be kept in the archives of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, and of which certified true copies shall be delivered to all the Members of the League.

ANNEX I.
Form of Ordinary Guarantee Bond.

LOAN OF THE GOVERNMENT OF
guaranteed in virtue of the Convention for Financial Assistance made at
on

Issue of

(state particulars of issue)

ORDINARY GUARANTEE BOND OF THE GOVERNMENT OF

WHEREAS, subject to the provisions of the above-named Convention for Financial Assistance, the Government of (name of guarantor Government) is an ordinary guarantor of loans authorised and contracted in accordance therewith;

AND WHEREAS the Trustees provided for in the said Convention have certified to the said Government that the Government of (name of borrowing Government) has concluded a contract, which has been duly approved and certified as required by the said Convention, for the issue of (state particulars of issue)

being part (the whole) of a loan authorised by the Council of the League of Nations in virtue of the said Convention and enjoying the ordinary guarantee of the Government of (name of guarantor Government)

AND WHEREAS the aforementioned Trustees have certified to the Government of (name of guarantor Government) that (a) the total amount of each payment due in respect of the issue provided for by the aforementioned contract, and (b) the maximum sum for which the Government of (name of guarantor Government) may be liable as an ordinary guarantor in respect of each such payment are respectively the sums set out in columns A and B of Parts I and II of the Schedule reproduced below:

NOW THEREFORE the Government of (name of guarantor Government) hereby acknowledges that it has guaranteed each of the said payments to the extent of its liability as an ordinary guarantor as stated in the said Schedule; and on presentation by or on behalf of the aforementioned Trustees of any of the coupons attached to the present Bond at (state place for presentation) in accordance with the provisions of the Convention, it will forthwith pay to the bearer or as the Trustees may direct, in (insert currency in which the issue is made), the sum, not exceeding the maximum payable thereon, which is certified by the Trustees to be due on the coupon to make good a deficit in the funds provided for making the payment to which the Coupon relates.

Schedule of Interest and Amortisation Payments and of the corresponding maximum liabilities resulting from the ordinary guarantee of the Government of**Part I.—Interest Payments.**

Date at which interest payment is due.	A Total amount of payment.	B Maximum liability of the Government of as an ordinary guarantor.

Part II.—Amortisation Payments.

Date at which amortisation payment is due.	A Total amount of payment.	B Maximum liability of the Government of as an ordinary guarantor.

Date

(Signed)

Form of Interest Coupon attached to Ordinary Guarantee Bond.

LOAN OF THE GOVERNMENT OF
guaranteed in virtue of the Convention for Financial Assistance made at
on

Issue of

(state particulars of issue)

Coupon for the sum payable by the Government of as an ordinary guarantor in respect of the instalment of interest due on the (date of interest payment)

On presentation of this coupon on or after the twentieth day preceding the (date when interest instalment is due) at (place for presentation) in the above-named Convention, the Government of (name of guarantor Government) by the Trustees, in the sum, not exceeding as an ordinary guarantor (amount of the Government's maximum liability which is certified below to have become payable on this coupon)

(insert currency of loan issued)

(amount of the Government's maximum liability which is certified below to have become payable on this coupon)

(Signed)

Certificate of Trustees.

We certify that the sum of good a deficit of which this coupon relates.

has become payable on this coupon to make , in the funds provided for making the interest payment to

(Signed)

Date

Form of Amortisation Coupon attached to Ordinary Guarantee Bond.

LOAN OF THE GOVERNMENT OF
guaranteed in virtue of the Convention for Financial Assistance made at
on Issue of (state particulars of issue)

Coupon for the sum payable by the Government of
guarantor in respect of the amortisation payment due on the as an ordinary
(date of amortisation payment) (date of amortisation payment)

On presentation of this coupon on or after the twentieth day preceding the (date of amortisation payment) at (place for presentation) by or on behalf of the Trustees provided for in the above-named Convention, the Government of (name of guarantor Government) will pay to the bearer, or as otherwise directed by the Trustees, in exceeding (insert currency of loan issue) the sum, not (amount of the Government's maximum liability as an ordinary guarantor) , which is certified below to have become payable on this coupon.

(Signed)

Certificate of Trustees.

We certify that the sum of good a deficit of to which this coupon relates.

has become payable on this coupon to make in the funds provided for making the amortisation payment

(Signed)

Date

ANNEX II.
Form of Special Guarantee Bond.

LOAN OF THE GOVERNMENT OF
guaranteed in virtue of the Convention for Financial Assistance made at
on Issue of (state particulars of issue)

SPECIAL GUARANTEE BOND OF THE GOVERNMENT OF

WHEREAS, subject to the provisions of the above-named Convention for Financial Assistance, the Government of (name of guarantor Government) is a special guarantor of loans authorised and contracted in accordance therewith;

AND WHEREAS the Trustees provided for in the said Convention have certified to the said Government that the Government of (name of borrowing Government) has concluded a contract, which has been duly approved and certified as required by the said Convention, for the issue of (state particulars of issue) being part (the whole) of a loan authorised by the Council of the League of Nations in virtue of the said Convention and enjoying the special guarantee of the Government of (name of guarantor Government)

AND WHEREAS the aforementioned Trustees have certified to the Government of (name of guarantor Government) that (a) the total amount of each payment due in respect of the issue provided for by the aforementioned contract, and (b) the maximum sum for which the Government of (name of guarantor Government) may be liable as an ordinary guarantor in respect of each such payment, and (c) the maximum sum for which the said Government may be liable as a special guarantor in respect of each such payment, are respectively the sums set out in columns A, B and C of Parts I and II of the Schedule reproduced below:

NOW THEREFORE the Government of (name of guarantor Government) hereby acknowledges that it has guaranteed each of the said payments to the extent of its liability as a special guarantor as stated in the said Schedule; and on presentation, by or on behalf of the aforementioned Trustees, of any of the coupons attached to the present Bond at (state place for presentation) in accordance with the provisions of the Convention, it will forthwith pay to the bearer or as the Trustees may direct, in (insert currency in which the issue is made) , the sum, not exceeding the maximum payable thereon, which is certified by the Trustees to be due on the coupon to make good a deficit in the funds provided for making the payment to which the coupon relates.

Schedule of Interest and Amortisation Payments and of the corresponding maximum liabilities resulting from the special guarantee of the Government of

Part I.—Interest Payments.

Date at which interest payment is due.	A Total amount of payment.	B Maximum liability of the Government of an ordinary guarantor.	C Maximum liability of the Government of as a special guarantor (i.e., liability as an ordinary guarantor, plus additional sum simultaneously guaranteed).

Part II.—Amortisation Payments.

Date at which amortisation payment is due.	A Total amount of payment.	B Maximum liability of the Government of an ordinary guarantor.	C Maximum liability of the Government of as a special guarantor (i.e., liability as an ordinary guarantor, plus additional sum simultaneously guaranteed).

Date

(Signed)

Form of Interest Coupon attached to Special Guarantee Bond.

LOAN OF THE GOVERNMENT OF
guaranteed in virtue of the Convention for Financial Assistance made at
on

Issue of (state particulars of issue)

COUPON for the sum payable by the Government of
as a special guarantor in respect of the instalment of interest due on the
(date of interest payment)

On presentation of this coupon on or after the twentieth day preceding the
(date when interest instalment is due) at
(place for presentation) by or behalf of the Trustees provided for
in the above-named Convention, the Government of (name of
guarantor Government)
will pay to the bearer, or as otherwise directed
by the Trustees, in (insert currency of loan issue)
the sum, not exceeding (amount of the Government's maximum
liability as a special guarantor)
become payable on this coupon.
which is certified below to have

(Signed)

Certificate of Trustees.

We certify that the sum of
is due from the Government of
as an ordinary guarantor, and the balance, i.e.,
constitutes the additional sum simultaneously guaranteed, has become payable on this coupon
to make good a deficit of
in the funds provided for making the
interest payment to which this coupon relates.

Date

(Signed)

Form of Amortisation Coupon attached to Special Guarantee Bond.

LOAN OF THE GOVERNMENT OF
guaranteed in virtue of the Convention for Financial Assistance made at
on

Issue of (state particulars of issue)

COUPON for the sum payable by the Government of
as a special
guarantor in respect of the amortisation payment due on the
(date of amortisation payment)

On presentation of this coupon on or after the twentieth day preceding the
(date of amortisation payment) at
(place of presentation) by or on behalf of the Trustees provided for in the
above-named Convention, the Government of (name of
guarantor Government)
will pay to the bearer, or as otherwise directed
(insert currency of loan issue)
(amount of the Government's maximum
liability as a special guarantor)
become payable on this coupon.
which is certified below to have

(Signed)

Certificate of Trustees.

We certify that the sum of
is due from the Government of _____ (name of guarantor Government).
as an ordinary guarantor, and the balance, i.e.,
constitutes the additional sum simultaneously guaranteed, has become payable on this coupon
to make good a deficit of _____ in the funds provided for making the amorti-
sation payment to which this coupon relates.

*Date**(Signed)**ANNEX VIII.—Report of the Third Committee to the Assembly on the General Convention to strengthen the Means of preventing War.*

In its resolution of 24th September 1929 the Assembly invited the Council to request the Committee on Arbitration and Security to consider whether it would be possible to prepare a draft General Convention on the lines of the model treaty to strengthen the means of preventing war. At its fourth session, held at Geneva from 28th April to 9th May 1930, the Committee on Arbitration and Security dealt with this question at considerable length.

It appeared from the discussions which took place in the Committee that the transformation of the model treaty into a General Convention raised a certain number of problems of great importance and of an extremely delicate nature. As regards some of these problems, the Committee succeeded in reconciling the various points of view; but, in the case of others, and in particular the problem of the more or less compulsory character of the military measures recommended by the Council and that of supervision and sanctions, it was unable to make unanimous proposals. It has, therefore, only prepared a preliminary draft Convention, in which Articles 2, 3 and 3 bis are given in two different columns representing the two main tendencies. When this matter was brought before it, the Third Committee entered upon a general exchange of views. After this discussion, it instructed a special Committee to consider the various viewpoints that had been expressed, and to endeavour to bring to light certain common features.

This special Committee discussed the principles of the preliminary draft exhaustively and in a most conciliatory spirit.

In accordance with the special Committee's proposals, the Third Committee reached the following conclusions:—

- (1) The Committee is of opinion that, in principle, it would be advantageous to transform the model treaty into a General Convention to strengthen the means of preventing war.
- (2) The Committee was unanimous in regard to the provisions given in Article 1 of the preliminary draft concerning the conservatory measures of a non-military nature which the Council may recommend the contracting parties to take.
- (3) With regard to Article 2 of the preliminary draft, the Committee considered that this article might embody provisions to ensure the integral application of Article 11 of the Covenant, with a view to the prevention of war by making binding on all contracting parties the Council's recommendations for the avoidance of direct contact between the opposing forces, and for the avoidance of incidents at a time when relations between the States concerned in any dispute have become so strained that, in the opinion of the Council, there is a threat of war.
- (4) The Committee likewise considered that the Convention should provide for a supervision of the measures which, in the cases mentioned in Article 2, would be decreed by the Council (Article 3 of the preliminary draft).
- (5) Lastly, in view of the fact that the scheme was limited to the prevention of war, as mentioned in Article 11 of the Covenant, the Committee felt that it should be understood that the question of the methods of applying Article 16 of the Covenant would remain intact, and that, on the other hand, the proposed Convention would result in facilitating such application.

The Committee came to the conclusion that the formulation of the above-mentioned principles in a clearly defined text would call for further prolonged and exhaustive study, for a number of delicate questions of a technical nature would have to be solved.

Under these circumstances, the Committee proposes that the Assembly should request the Council to form a special Committee to reconsider this question in the light of the principles adopted by the Committee, and to submit its report to the Council for discussion at the next session of the Assembly.

ANNEX IX.—Report of the Fourth Committee to the Assembly on Financial Questions.

In accordance with the system followed last year, the Fourth Committee has distributed its work among a number of Rapporteurs. The present report deals mainly with the budget and accounts. In order to have a complete picture of the work done by the Committee, reference must be made to the following special reports which have been submitted to the Assembly separately:—

- (1) Organisation of the Secretariat, the International Labour Office and the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Justice.
- (2) Amendment of Article 1, para. 3, of the Financial Regulations and partial renewal of the Supervisory Commission.
- (3) Contributions in arrears.

I.—AUDITED ACCOUNTS FOR 1929.

The Vice-Chairman of the Supervisory Commission explained that one of the Commission's main duties in examining the closed accounts was to ascertain whether the credits have been utilised for the purposes for which the Assembly intended them. A detailed examination of transfers was one of the most effectual methods of supervision, and M. Reveillaud showed by a few illustrations the way in which the Commission interpreted its duties in this matter.

The Fourth Committee endorsed the various recommendations made by the auditor, in so far as they had been accepted by the Supervisory Commission, and decided unanimously to recommend the Assembly to approve the accounts of the Secretariat and of the autonomous organisations of the League in the form in which they had been submitted.

II.—BUDGET FOR 1931.

(a) General Discussion.

The examination of the various budget items was preceded by a discussion, in the course of which various speakers explained their points of view. They observed that, if regard was had to the supplementary credits submitted to the Assembly before the opening of the session, the 1931 budget showed an increase of more than 6 per cent. as compared with that for the current financial period; if there was added as well the expenditure which would have been incurred as a result of the adoption of the proposals made by the Committee of Enquiry into the Organisation of the Secretariat, the International Labour Office and the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the increase would have amounted to more than 13 per cent. The speakers in question expressed the opinion that, in view of the general economic crisis and of the disappointments experienced since the last Assembly, they could only vote for the increased credits for really indispensable objects. Certain speakers, dealing with the functions of the Supervisory Commission, wondered whether the Commission had not shown too great leniency to the heads of the various League Organisations. They pointed out that the Fourth Committee did not wish to evade its responsibilities, but that it could not examine the budget submitted to it item by item. It had not the time, nor was it its duty, to ascertain whether the new posts proposed in the budget were required for really useful work. If the Supervisory Commission adopted a very firm attitude, it would strengthen the Secretary-General's position and facilitate the work of the Assembly. While nobody asked that the Supervisory Commission should control the Assembly's decisions, it was that body's duty to see that the credits proposed for inclusion in the budget did not exceed the minimum necessary for the execution of those decisions.

In reply to these various observations, the Vice-Chairman of the Supervisory Commission stated that the latter had never failed in its duty, which was to satisfy itself that the League's services were managed with the strictest economy. The Commission's work was prepared in advance by a Rapporteur who came to Geneva before the sessions in order to study the questions on the agenda on the spot. He did not confine himself to obtaining the views of the Secretary-General, the Director of the International Labour Office and the Registrar of the Court, but made a detailed analysis of the credits in conjunction with the officials directly responsible, and sometimes instructed them to prepare reports in writing for the Commission.

In carrying out its task of supervision, the Commission was often confronted with situations that were, directly or indirectly, due to the discussions in the successive Assemblies of the League. The Commission could not arrogate to itself any right of criticism or veto in regard to expenses resulting from an explicit or implicit decision by the Assembly, but it drew attention to the financial consequences. The most it could do was to endeavour to enlighten the Assembly by pointing out and seeking to convince the Assembly that certain methods of work were not the most effective for achieving the aim desired by all. The Commission endeavoured to supervise the carrying out of the decisions on which action had to be taken, with a view to seeing that the expenditure did not exceed the bare minimum.

As to expenses not connected with the principal aims of the League, the Commission had endeavoured to ensure their limitation by recommending that certain budgets should be stabilised. The experience acquired in the last few years seemed to show that this system had not given the full results that might have been expected, because certain proposals for increases which were perfectly reasonable and justifiable in themselves had been recommended by the competent Committees of the Assembly.

To sum up, the Supervisory Commission could only work in close co-operation with the Fourth Committee; it could enlighten the Committee, but it was the latter's duty to take the final decisions.

(b) Budget of the Secretariat and Special Organisations.

The ordinary budget of the Secretariat and Special Organisations, as submitted to the Assembly, amounted to 16,505,473 francs, an increase of 540,217 francs compared with the budget for the current period.

The main increases were due to regular annual increments in salaries, the creation of new posts, mostly in the lower categories, the contribution, entered now for the first time in the budget, to a fund for the upkeep and running expenses of the wireless station, expenses due to the necessity of leasing new premises, partly to improve the unhealthy conditions in which the staff in certain services were working at present, and, lastly, the extension of the International Health Organisation's work to certain countries outside Europe. Certain expenses, however, for which provision was made in the budget for the current period, such as expenses connected with the International Codification Conference, would not recur this year.

The detailed discussion of the items of the budget bore upon the following principal points:—

(1) *Conferences convened by the League of Nations.*—Several delegates emphasised the importance they attached to all conferences convened by the League of Nations being held at Geneva. Other speakers, however, pointed out the advantages of all the League's work not being concentrated at Geneva.

The Secretary-General having recalled that, in accordance with the desire expressed by the Assembly, it was understood that the additional expenditure resulting from the holding of conferences away from Geneva on a Government's invitation would be borne by the said Government, the Committee decided to mention the matter in its report.

(2) *Sessions of the Council.*—The Committee decided to recommend that, in future, Item 2, "Sessions of the Council," should be divided under two heads; under the first would be entered

the sum of 40,000 francs for the expenses of the ordinary sessions of the Council, while to the second, for which a sum of 23,000 francs was provided, could only be charged the expenses of the extraordinary sessions of the Council.

(3) *Salaries, wages and allowances.*—Several speakers drew attention to the considerable increase in the staff provided for in the 1931 budget. In reply to a delegate, the Secretary-General explained that he had delayed the creation of posts for which several Chiefs of Service had applied; but that, owing to the increase in the work devolving upon the Secretariat, which could now in all probability be regarded as permanent, he had been obliged this year to propose the creation of a comparatively large number of subordinate posts, particularly in the multigraph, distribution and printing services. As it was suggested that perhaps the number of the staff of the Political Section was somewhat excessive, the Secretary-General said that this section constituted his sole reserve for the new tasks which, while not appertaining to a special section, were from time to time entrusted to the Secretariat as the services of the members of the Political Section were utilised for general purposes. Any reduction in the strength of this section would therefore be detrimental to the Secretariat's efficiency.

The Rapporteur of the Supervisory Commission informed the Committee that he had made an inquiry into the engagement of temporary assistants by the Information Section and into the results produced by this system. A considerable number of educationists, professors of international law, publicists, economists and students had been able to spend three weeks at Geneva to familiarise themselves with the work of the League. The increase in the credit proposed this year has in view the invitation of a larger number of assistants belonging to non-European countries. The Rapporteur had an opportunity of satisfying himself that the work of the assistants was extremely well organised, and that these assistants had derived the benefits anticipated from their stay at Geneva. This system may be said to constitute perhaps the best and most effective method of making the work of the League of Nations known throughout the world.

(4) *Economic and Financial Organisation.*—In reply to certain observations on the convocation of conferences to deal with questions which did not present an urgent character, the Director of the Economic and Financial Section pointed out that only one of the subjects indicated on page 26 of the budget would be dealt with by a conference in 1931. Before convening any conference, the Economic and Financial Organisation will consult the Economic Committee and the most competent experts on the subject; it will thus satisfy itself that the question is ripe for useful discussion and that the Governments really desired such a conference.

(5) *Communications and Transit Organisation.*—After the explanations supplied by the Chief of the Communications and Transit Section, the Committee decided not to increase the credit provided for the settlement of disputes. The present credit of 20,000 francs corresponds to the average expenditure during the last few years, and there is no special reason to think that the expenses charged to this item will continue to be as high as during the last two financial periods.

The Committee also noted the statement made by the Chief of the Section that it was not proposed to print all the national reports on the reform of the calendar, but either to publish extracts from these replies or to make a general report summarising the different national reports.

(6) *International Disarmament Conference.*—Several delegates having expressed the view that the credits entered in the budget would not be sufficient to cover the expenses of the International Disarmament Conference, the Secretary-General explained that the credit in the budget was only given as an indication, and would only be sufficient if the Conference was convened for the end of the year. Judging by what happened in the case of the London Conference, it is probable that, if the Disarmament Conference is convened for the autumn, it will continue into the 1932 financial period.

Moreover, the Supervisory Commission's report shows that, if the Conference meets earlier and the credit proves insufficient, transfers can be made within Item 22, "Reduction of Armaments," and by special decision of the Council; part of the credits voted for unforeseen expenses of the Council might also be assigned to the Conference. If the funds thus placed at the Conference's disposal still prove to be insufficient, the Assembly might, by adopting the present report, authorise the Secretary-General, as an altogether exceptional matter, to make drafts on the working capital fund, which would be repaid in 1932 by means of credits entered in the budget for that financial period. As regards the supplementary staff which will probably have to be engaged for the preparation of the Conference, the necessary sums will be charged to the budget of the Conference in accordance with the usual practice.

(7) *Publications of the League.*—Several delegates asked the Secretary-General to accelerate the publication of the documents of the League of Nations, and particularly the proceedings of the Conferences. A speedier distribution of these latter documents would allow Governments to ratify more quickly the conventions adopted under the auspices of the League of Nations.

(8) *International Federation for Mutual Assistance in the Relief of Peoples overtaken by Disaster.*—It being understood that this decision would not create a precedent, and that the principle that, in the future as in the past, all requests for new credits must first be submitted to the Supervisory Commission would be maintained, the Fourth Committee restored the credit of 5,000 francs entered in the budget of the previous financial periods.

(9) *Wireless station of the League of Nations.*—The Committee approved the proposals submitted to it by the Supervisory Commission. A sum of 795,822 francs, corresponding to the portion of the surplus for the current financial period which will be returned to the Members of the League in 1931, has accordingly been entered in the budget for the 1931 financial period in respect of the expenditure for the construction and installation of the new station. The balance of the expenditure to be incurred in 1931 will be temporarily taken for the working capital fund. A credit of 200,000 francs was also voted for the creation of a separate fund to cover running expenses and the costs of upkeep of the station.

The Committee noted the explanations furnished to it by the Vice-Chairman of the Supervisory Commission with regard to the increased expenditure provided for the installation of the station as compared with the provisional estimates communicated to the Supervisory Commission at its May session. It also received a detailed report showing the various causes of the increase in the figure originally established. It noted that the higher expenditure would not involve any change in the

method proposed in order to cover the costs of the operation. The sum to be taken from the working capital fund should, however, be increased from 800,000 to 1,500,000 francs.

(c) *Budget of the International Labour Organisation.*

The budget of the International Labour Organisation was adopted as submitted to the Committee.

The Director also informed the Committee, for its information and not for decision, that it would probably be necessary to enlarge the premises at present at the Labour Office's disposal. It may be anticipated that proposals will be made next year to the Assembly by the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

(d) *Budget of the Permanent Court of International Justice.*

The Committee noted that the draft budget laid before it had been prepared by the Registrar of the Court in consideration of the proposals submitted by the Council to the Assembly concerning the composition of the Court and the organisation of its work, these proposals having been duly adopted by the First Committee.

The Committee heard the explanations supplied by the Vice-Chairman of the Supervisory Commission, on the one hand concerning the increase—amounting to 186,108.49 Dutch florins—represented by the new draft budget as compared with the budget of the current year; and, on the other hand, concerning the reduction—amounting to 29,500 florins—represented by this budget in comparison with the budget estimates prepared by the Registrar and approved by the Supervisory Commission in the eventuality of the entry into force of the Protocol of 14th September 1929, relative to the revision of the Statute of the Court.

Noting these explanations, the Fourth Committee adopted unanimously and without discussion the draft budget laid before it. This budget amounts to 1,274,913.50 Dutch florins, or 2,655,645 Swiss francs.

(e) *Supplementary Credits.*

Except in regard to the matter referred to in Chapter III (see below), the Fourth Committee approved the various proposals for supplementary credits as submitted to it by the Supervisory Commission, the total sum for the three organisations being 467,512 francs.

It appears from the report on the organisation of the Secretariat, the International Labour Office and the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Justice that the Committee has decided to adjourn the consideration of most of those recommendations made by the Committee of Inquiry which would involve fresh expenditure. The new budgetary charges for which provision must be made under this heading, including the cost of the new pensions system, amount to 1,265,002 francs.

The budget for 1931 is as follows :—

	Swiss francs.
(1) Secretariat and Special Organisations of the League	17,091,586
(2) International Labour Organisation	8,661,652
(3) Permanent Court of International Justice	2,712,668
(4) Buildings at Geneva	2,170,822
(5) Pensions	1,000,773
Total	<hr/> 31,637,501

III.—REPORTS BY THE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION.

With the exception of a recommendation by the Supervisory Commission providing for the reduction from 100,000 to 50,000 francs of the credits proposed by the Second Committee for an inquiry into the causes of the present economic depression, the Fourth Committee approved the conclusions of the various reports submitted to it by the Supervisory Commission.

The Fourth Committee considered that the real value of the inquiry would depend on the rapidity with which it was conducted and completed and, under these circumstances, it did not feel that it could support the proposal of the Supervisory Commission to the effect that the credit should be reduced to 50,000 francs, while providing that the inquiry might not be completed within as short a period as that contemplated by the Second Committee. The Fourth Committee considered that the total amount of 100,000 francs would have to be expended in any case, and that the adoption of the proposal put forward by the Supervisory Commission would not, therefore, effect in the last resort any economy.

In adopting the report of the Supervisory Commission concerning the future organisation of refugee work, the Fourth Committee wished to insist on the need for bringing this work to an end within 10 years. In order to emphasise this opinion, it adopted the following resolution :—

"The Assembly, recalling resolutions 3 and 4 of the Tenth Assembly, invites the International Organisation for Refugees to draw up and submit in 1931 to the Twelfth Assembly a systematic plan for the winding-up of the Refugee Organisation at a date which shall not be later than 31st December 1939."

IV.—NEW BUILDINGS.

The report of the special Committee of five members with regard to the construction of the new buildings was laid before the Fourth Committee.

In this report, the special Committee submitted to the Assembly its conclusions on the three points which were held over last year. The question on which the Fourth Committee had to be consulted was the approval of the detailed estimates presented by the architects. The special Committee, having noted that the architects' detailed estimates were within the limits already approved by last year's Assembly, decided, after examining the considerations on which the estimates were based, to recommend that the Assembly should adopt these estimates and approve the necessary credits.

The Secretary-General informed the Committee that the work had already begun, that the first main tenders (excavating, foundations, masonry, reinforced concrete and freestone work) would probably be allotted during November, and that the work would then be continued without interruption until completed.

The representative of Great Britain proposed that the plans for the Assembly Hall (including the committee rooms) should be submitted for examination by the special Committee appointed by the 1929 Assembly to enquire into the material arrangements for the Assembly sessions. This Committee, which had already concerned itself with the arrangement of the Bâtiment Electoral, might perhaps make valuable suggestions to the Building Committee. This proposal was approved, subject to the reservation made by certain delegates that this consultation should not entail any delay in beginning the work.

The Fourth Committee expressed its cordial thanks to the special Committee for its report, which marks the completion of the difficult task entrusted to it by the Assembly. It also thanked the Secretary-General, his collaborators and the architects for the work they have done in giving the plans and estimates their final form, which has made it possible to begin building.

The special Committee having now terminated its work, the Fourth Committee requested the Supervisory Commission to deal with all future financial questions which may arise in connection with the new buildings.

V.—PARTIAL RENEWAL OF THE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION.

In accordance with the Assembly's decision, the Fourth Committee, after having held a secret ballot, proposes that the Assembly should elect the following persons to the Supervisory Commission :—

Members for the period ending 31st December 1933 :—

His Excellency M. Stefan Osusky,
M. Jean Réveillaud.

Substitute members for the period ending 31st December 1932 :—

M. Jean de Modzelewski,
M. Georges de Ottlik.

ANNEX X.—Report of the Fourth Committee to the Assembly on the Amendment to para. 3 of Article 1 of the Financial Regulations and Rotation in Membership of the Supervisory Commission.

1. In a memorandum which was circulated to the Assembly before its present session, the Government of the Swiss Confederation endorsing a suggestion made by its delegate at the Fourth Committee of the last Assembly, proposed to replace the following clause of Article 1, para. 3, of the Financial Regulations :—

“Retiring members shall be eligible for reappointment”

by the following text :—

“Retiring members shall be eligible for reappointment three years after the expiry of their term of office.”

In support of this proposal, the Swiss Government argued that the present system was not entirely compatible with the principles of equity which should, wherever possible, be observed by the Assembly. It thought that it would be more logical, equitable and more in keeping with a rational conception of administrative principles if all the countries Members of the League, as represented by nationals, were called upon in turn to exercise functions so important for the finances of the League.

Several delegates endorsed the Swiss Government's proposals. They argued that it was desirable that there should be, at regular intervals, an infusion of new blood into the Commission, and that it should not become merely a matter of politeness always to re-elect the members who had previously served. They also thought that it was very important that qualified persons of as many countries as possible should have an opportunity for acquiring a knowledge of the financial and administrative working of the League, which membership in the Supervisory Commission alone could give.

Other delegates, on the other hand, attached much greater importance to the element of continuity. The problems dealt with by the Supervisory Commission made it necessary to secure experts, not only with financial, but also with legal and administrative qualifications, and it took new members a considerable time before they were acquainted with the various traditions which had been built up. Efficiency, based on experience, was, in their view, the primary consideration. Certain delegates further argued that the Assembly should not, in advance, bind itself not to reappoint persons who had, by common consent, rendered, in the capacity of members of the Supervisory Commission, especially useful service to the League.

After a full discussion, during which the Swiss delegate declared that he would accept with pleasure the proposal made by the Austrian delegate, the Commission agreed to recommend a solution to the Assembly which, while securing the principle of rotation which many thought desirable for the most important financial organ of the League, made it possible for the members to acquire the necessary experience by providing that they might be re-elected for a second term.

The Commission therefore decided to recommend the Assembly to substitute the following text for the clause “retiring members shall be eligible for reappointment” in para. 3 of Article 1 of the Regulations :—

“On retiring from the Commission on the expiration of their term of office, members shall only be eligible for re-election for a single period of three years. This rule shall not prevent subsequent election of the same persons after the expiration of at least three years from the end of their last term of office.”

The Committee considered that this amendment should not be held to debar a member elected for a further term (after a period during which he had not served) from being re-elected, without an interval, for the following period. It also decided that the amendment, which could, of course, not have retrospective application, should only come into force as from 1st January 1931.

II. The Commission approved the report which had been submitted to it on the rotation in membership of the Supervisory Commission.

Being of opinion that its composition and its work made it the best qualified body to advise on the choice of persons with the necessary qualifications for membership of the Supervisory Commission, the Fourth Committee has thought it its duty to suggest that the Assembly should allow it to submit to that body, for the election of the members of the Supervisory Commission, a list including a number of names equal to the number of seats to be filled.

ANNEX XI.—Report by the Fourth Committee to the Assembly on the Organisation of the Secretariat, the International Labour Office and the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

1. The Fourth Committee has had before it the report of the Committee of Thirteen set up by the Tenth Assembly at its meeting on 19th September 1929, "to examine what steps—in particular, amendments of the Staff Regulations—could be taken to ensure, in the future as in the past, the best possible administrative results." According to the draft resolution submitted by the British Delegation, the Assembly was not to instruct this special Committee (which was composed first of 5, then of 9, and then of 13 members, and actually sat with 12) to examine what steps could be taken, but was to give it definite indications as to the course to be pursued; for the draft resolution continued :—

"[The Assembly] :

"Adopts the following principles and decides that they shall form the basis of the recommendations of the Special Commission :—

- "(1) The members of the staff of the League should, as far as possible, have permanent employment and contracts of long duration.
- "(2) Throughout the whole of the Secretariat and of the International Labour Office every post should be open to be filled by promotion from among the whole body of officials.
- "(3) The system of selection and recruitment, while taking full account of an equitable distribution of posts among the different nationalities, should be particularly stringent in order to ensure that the officials who become members of this permanent international civil service should have the character, the abilities and the training which are required.
- "(4) All questions relating to the personnel should be the special concern of an administrative official who would assist the Secretary-General or the Director of the International Labour Office in dealing with such matters.
- "(5) A system of adequate pensions should be introduced."

The Italian Government also presented a further draft resolution on the same subject, as follows :—

"The Assembly :

"Referring to the resolution adopted on 26th September 1928, asking that an enquiry should be made into the most suitable steps to ensure, in the future as in the past, the best possible administrative results ;

"Decides that a Committee of five members, including two members of the Supervisory Commission, shall be appointed to conduct this enquiry. The Committee will consider the results of the application of the principles adopted by the Second Assembly on the basis of the Noblemaire Committee's report. It will consider all matters connected with the organisation and duties of the Secretariat and the selection and terms of engagement of the staff, and any other material that may help the Assembly to gain a full knowledge of the question before taking a decision. The Committee will be entirely free to obtain such information as it may think useful and to propose such steps as it may consider most appropriate.

"The Assembly requests the Council to select and appoint the members of this Committee, which should be instructed to have its report ready in time for consideration by the next Assembly."

The Assembly, taking note of these two draft resolutions, decided :—

"That a Committee of Enquiry shall be constituted, consisting of nine members, two of whom shall be members of the Supervisory Commission, to be appointed by the Assembly to examine what steps could be taken to ensure, in the future as in the past, the best possible administrative results for the Secretariat, the International Labour Office and the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and to prepare a report thereon in adequate time so that it may be submitted to the Governments for consideration before the next session of the Assembly.

"For that purpose, the various draft resolutions proposed on the subject to the Fourth Committee and the Minutes of the said Committee shall be transmitted to the Committee of Enquiry."

It was the result of the investigations of this Committee that the Fourth Committee had to consider and to submit, with its observations, to the Assembly.

The Committee of Thirteen was not unanimous in its conclusions; the Fourth Committee received both a majority and a minority report on two of the principal questions at issue, that of permanency and of the principal officers of the Secretariat.

The Fourth Committee decided to follow the method of taking the majority report paragraph by paragraph, and discussing the minority report in connection with the paragraphs to which it relates. An account of the proceedings is given in the present report.

2. A noteworthy general discussion preceded the separate discussions on each paragraph of the report. The various speakers upheld their points of view with regard to the general solutions to be adopted. Fortunately, there was no clash of principles, which would have made the Committee's task a much more difficult one; on the fundamental principles there was unanimity. All the members of the Committee were agreed as to the necessity of "ensuring that the organisation at Geneva should retain its strictly international character, and of its being provided with a staff capable of doing its work with proper efficiency." The differences of opinion that emerged concerned the best methods of ensuring that these principles are carried fully into effect.

3. The members of the Committee of Thirteen were unanimous, not only on the principles, but also on the circumstances which led certain Governments, the principal officials of the Secretariat, and the Assemblies of 1928 and 1929, to realise that a reorganisation of the administrative bodies at Geneva was urgently necessary—namely, international dissatisfaction and administrative dissatisfaction, both apparent almost from the earliest days of those institutions.

The international dissatisfaction is chiefly due to the organisation of the higher staff of the Secretariat, in which several States Members assert that the nationals of the States permanently represented on the Council are too numerous. The administrative dissatisfaction is due to a feeling of insecurity and instability among the officials, who feel that there is no certainty either in their careers or in their future. For these two recognised causes of unrest, the majority and the minority put forward different solutions, which the Committee has discussed in detail, arriving at a conclusion which will be explained later.

4. I shall not give you a summary of the general discussion; no abridged account could give any idea of the high standard and the ability displayed throughout the debate. If I summarised it, you might refrain from reading the speeches—which are most interesting. Moreover, you will have occasion to consider, in connection with each chapter of the report, the main arguments advanced by both parties—the majority and the minority. We will accordingly examine the discussion on the various articles.

CHAPTER I.—GENERAL OBLIGATIONS OF THE STAFF.

5. At the head of the chapter on the general obligations of the staff, reference should be made to the passage in Lord Balfour's report, to which the report of the Committee of Thirteen alludes: "Absolute impartiality, tempered by the spirit of research, by objective study, by the practice of true internationalism—that is to say, in no way excluding in any of those who take part in the great work of the League the love of their own country."

The Committee adopted the proposal of the Committee of Thirteen that the following paragraph should be embodied in the amended Staff Regulations:—

"The officials of the Secretariat of the League of Nations are exclusively international officials, and their duties are not national, but international. By accepting appointment, they pledge themselves to discharge their functions and to regulate their conduct with the interests of the League alone in view. They are subject to the authority of the Secretary-General, and are responsible to him in the exercise of their functions, as provided in these Regulations. They may not seek or receive instructions from any Government or other authority external to the Secretariat of the League of Nations."

This text gave rise to a discussion on the construction placed by one member upon the sentence concerning the responsibility of officials to the Secretary-General; it was adopted without opposition (but with one abstention), with a comment by the Chairman to the effect that, as a result of the discussion, it had been placed on record that the Secretary-General was himself responsible to the Council and Assembly.

6. The Netherlands and Norwegian Delegations submitted a proposal to the effect that League officials should be required to take an oath that they will observe impartiality and discretion.

After a brief debate, chiefly on the question whether the oath was to be taken orally or in writing, and on the advantages or disadvantages of requiring "discretion" from officials, the following text was adopted by the Committee:—

"Before entering upon his duties, each official of the Secretariat shall sign the following declaration:—

"I solemnly undertake to exercise, in conformity with Article I of the Regulations, in all loyalty, discretion and conscience, the functions which have been entrusted to me as an official of the Secretariat of the League of Nations."

As regards the Secretary-General, the Committee adopted the following text:—

"The Secretary-General of the League of Nations shall, on entering on his duties, make the following declaration before the Council:—

"I solemnly undertake to exercise, in all loyalty, discretion and conscience, the functions which have been entrusted to me as Secretary-General of the League of Nations."

For Article 2, para. 2, of the Staff Regulations, the Committee of Thirteen proposes a new wording as follows:—

"No member of the Secretariat may, while he holds that position, be a candidate for office of a political character in his own country."

This wording, as was urged by certain members of the Committee and by the Director of the International Labour Office, is much more drastic than the rule hitherto in force. Instead of permitting it forbids; it was adopted by the majority of the Committee. The Committee noted, in this connection, that the holding of a political office was, under the present Regulations, incompatible with service on the Secretariat.

CHAPTER 2.—DURATION OF APPOINTMENTS.

8. This is one of the essential questions to be solved, since it is at the root of the unrest as has been shown by the staff.

The staff asked for permanency and a pensions scheme, for stability in its career and security for the future.

9. The Committee of Thirteen, in agreement with the Secretary-General and the Staff Committee, was unanimous in excepting the principal officers of the Secretariat from the system of permanency. Similarly, there was unanimity in favour of permanency for the members of the Second and Third Divisions and for interpreters, translators and précis-writers. As regards other officials of the First Division, on the other hand, the majority of the Committee of Thirteen recommends permanency combined with temporary appointments, while the minority only admits of appointments of limited duration, with the possibility of renewal. Such are the two contentions. Both majority and minority recognise that there is unrest, which it is essential to cure by adequate measures. As we have just seen, the majority proposes a system of permanency qualified by temporary appointments and a pensions system; but the minority considers that it is sufficient to have appropriate salaries, a good system of leave, pensions and retirement, and welfare measures of all kinds.

10. The point of view of the majority is based, among other reasons, on those which its Rapporteur states in the following terms:—

“Permanency is the foundation of any satisfactory administration; the advantages of experience can be thus secured, and sound and valuable traditions can be established.

“For an international organisation, permanency is a safeguard. If temporary engagements were the general rule, continual calls would have to be made on the staffs of national civil services, and these officials would tend to look upon themselves, during their brief term in the Secretariat, as representatives of their Governments, since they would have been accustomed to take orders from those Governments and would be dependent upon them for their future prospects.

“The principle of permanency thus seems essential; but, on the other hand—as was pointed out in the Noblemaire Report—any complete and unrestricted application of that principle would lead to unfortunate consequences. It would make it impossible to engage frequently persons of proved experience, whereas the Committee is convinced of the necessity of such engagements; it would deprive the staff of the necessary means of contact with public opinion in the various countries belonging to the League; and it would interfere with the successive changes of personnel which enables all systems of civilisation to be represented in the Secretariat.”

To remedy these drawbacks, the Secretary-General is to have power to make temporary appointments provided that the Assembly sanctions the expenditure involved. In what proportion? The Secretary-General, without being able to fix a definite percentage between permanent and temporary appointments, calculates that temporaries should represent about a third of the staff of the rank of the Chiefs of and Members of Section. He declared that a number of temporary appointments would be particularly suitable in the Political and Information Sections. The Committee did not consider it desirable to make an exhaustive list of the cases in which temporary appointments would be proper, nor to specify the classes of duties to which that system ought to apply, and set out by way of example certain important instances in which temporary appointments might be made—namely, the cases of (1) technical experts; (2) persons with special political or other qualifications; (3) persons engaged for urgent or exceptional work; (4) persons who for reasons of health could not be offered permanent appointments or for reasons of personal convenience could not accept them.

According to some speakers, permanency would confer on officials an independence which would leave them free from interference on the part of their Governments, and for that reason would constitute a fundamental condition for the creation of the international spirit.

11. The minority sets against these arguments the view put forward in the statement of Count Bernstorff, M. Gallavresi, M. Parra Perez and M. Urrutia, in the following terms:—

“The system of permanent contracts has, it is true, certain advantages, in that it gives officials a very strong feeling of security, and this is, generally speaking, undoubtedly in the interests of efficient administration. On the other hand, this system involves the risk of bureaucratising and clogging the administrative machinery. Officials who, after entering the service, are faced with the prospect of spending their whole life in the ranks of the same body of officials may easily develop a spirit of routine which is unfavourable to the furtherance of the new ideas that are constantly germinating in a young institution like the League of Nations. There is reason to fear that officials engaged for life may lose that spirit of incentive and initiative which is essential in order that the Secretariat may successfully discharge the difficult duties entrusted to it.

“These general considerations apply with special force to officials who do the brain work in connection with the executive and preparatory duties of the Secretariat; they are less important for another class of officials whose work is not to the same degree concerned with the substance of the questions dealt with in the Secretariat—for example, interpreters, précis-writers and the internal services.

“The officials in the first category mentioned above, which includes, in particular, Members of Section, and is the mainspring of the Secretariat, must possess very special qualities. It is not enough that their work should be first-class from the purely administrative point of view. They must, in addition, be acquainted with public opinion in their own countries, so that they may, as far as possible, contribute to the common stock the conceptions prevalent in the various parts of the world. Until the ‘international man’ has been created, the international character of the Secretariat’s work, which is of such importance to the League of Nations, can only be assured by the co-operation of the nationals of different countries, which should make the Secretariat a kind of clearing-house for the various currents of thought and ideas prevailing throughout the world.

“For these reasons it would seem desirable to apply to Members of Section the same rules as have been adopted for similar reasons in respect of the higher staff. They would be given

seven-year contracts, renewable for further periods of the same duration. This system would facilitate the introduction of fresh blood into the staff; it would also allow of a system of rotation between the different nationalities, and would thus make it possible to bring into the Secretariat in course of time nationals of countries not yet adequately represented. It is the same system that has been applied in the past, and experience shows that it has given excellent results. There are no sound reasons for changing this method and thereby to some extent modifying the general complexion of the Secretariat.

"The power to renew appointments on expiry would enable the Secretariat to retain in its service officials whose work had been specially satisfactory. In this way, the most valuable among the Members of Section would have all the necessary guarantees of security of tenure, since they would be sure of being able to remain in the service of the Secretariat—provided they continued to fulfil these conditions and had shown marked ability. There would be nothing to prevent such officials from being promoted to the posts of Chief of Section or Director. On the other hand, the less highly qualified officials might be dispensed with without any special procedure, through the mere non-renewal of their contracts."

12. This system of rotation—as one of the most eloquent champions belonging to the minority remarked—would prevent the "crystallisation" of officials in their duties, while at the same time maintaining the indispensable contact between their countries and the Geneva Institution without prejudice to their international character. In the opinion of the speaker, permanence could only be a myth.

On the other hand, it was maintained that crystallisation, or staleness through routine, could be easily avoided if officials were given different posts in succession instead of remaining indefinitely tied to the same duties. The Secretary-General will be required to present an annual list to the Fourth Committee and to the Assembly showing the temporary or permanent appointments he has made, so that it will be possible to compare the proportion of the permanent and temporary offices of the Secretariat.

13. After a full discussion, in which all the arguments of the majority and the minority were scrupulously examined in all their aspects, the Committee rejected the previous question on a show of hands, and a vote was taken by roll-call on the first point, which was put as follows:—

"(1) With regard to Chiefs of Section and Members of Section, should provision be made in future for indeterminate contracts?"

The proposal was carried by 30 votes to eight, with four abstentions.

Point 2: "Should the Secretary-General be given the power of engaging temporary officials?" was carried on a show of hands, after the Secretary-General had explained the precise construction to be placed on the expression "temporary contracts."

Point 3, which was divided into two sections, was also adopted in the following terms:—

"Indeterminate contracts may be terminated:

"(a) When the official reaches the age of 60, with the possibility of extending the appointment till the age of 65, and of engaging or retaining, for special work, officials even beyond that age;

"(b) By termination of appointment:

"(1) In the case of misconduct, of wilful failure or negligence, or of inefficiency in the discharge of the official's duties;

"(2) As a result of the reorganisation of the service, it being understood that account would be taken of the official's legitimate interests as guaranteed by the Staff Regulations;

"(3) On the occasion of the septennial revision, where the official's capacity and efficiency are obviously inadequate, it being understood that account would be taken of the official's legitimate interests as guaranteed by the Staff Regulations."

Voluntary Resignation.

14. The Committee adopted it as a general rule that an official might resign at any moment on six months' notice, which the Secretary-General could reduce if he thought fit.

The proposals as a whole were adopted by 30 votes to six, and four abstentions.

CHAPTER 3.—PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF THE SECRETARIAT.

15. The Committee then undertook the discussion of the two views put forward with regard to the organisation of the higher direction of the Secretariat—namely, the majority solution which proposed to recommend to the Assembly the creation of five new posts of Under Secretaries-General (including that of the Legal Adviser), appointed like the other officials of the Secretariat on the proposal of the Secretary-General, and the minority solution set out by Count Bernstorff and M. Gallavresi, which advocated the creation of only one new post of Under Secretary-General (the Legal Adviser), and proposed that the Secretary-General, while being solely responsible, should be assisted in the exercise of his duties by a Committee of the Under Secretaries-General. This Committee "would be required to keep itself informed of all political questions and of questions involving a principle, and to give the Secretary-General its opinion on all such matters."

In the course of a prolonged debate, the Fourth Committee examined the two views, which, indeed, had been amply explained in the report of the Committee of Thirteen and its Appendix II. On the proposal of one of its members, the Committee first dealt with the question of the Advisory Committee proposed by the minority on the basis of a memorandum by Senator Scialoja.

16. According to this proposal, the Committee of Under Secretaries-General, consisting of five members (the post of Deputy Secretary-General would be replaced by a post of Under Secretary-General or occupied in turn by one of the Under Secretaries-General), would be an Advisory Committee. The terms of reference and the duties of the Advisory Committee are defined by the minority as follows:—

"The Secretary-General, who would be solely responsible, would be assisted in his duties by a Committee consisting of the Under Secretaries-General, which would be required to keep itself informed of all political questions and all questions involving a principle, and to give the Secretary-General its opinion on all such matters. An Advisory Committee of this kind should be fairly small, so as to be able to remain in close and constant contact with the Secretary-General and deal with urgent or confidential questions as well. In a general way, it should have the right to give its opinion, if it so desired, before any measures involving important political issues or principles were taken by the Secretary-General. This would not preclude the Secretary-General from taking action in cases of extreme urgency, even before consulting the Committee. In this way the members of the Committee would be at all times acquainted with the general lines on which the work of the Secretariat was proceeding, and they would then be able to replace the Secretary-General in the general control of affairs if for any reason he were absent from duty."

17. To meet the objection that the Powers permanently represented on the Council would be over-represented on this Board, the minority report gave the following explanation :—

"States not permanently represented on the Council should realise that the holding of the post of Under Secretary-General by a national of a country with a permanent seat on the Council is not a constitutional rule or a privilege, but has proved useful in practice for the reason that the nationals of countries with general interests are, by their capacity to serve as liaison agents, specially qualified to discharge the duties of Under Secretary-General. Any dissatisfaction felt by the States in question might be more effectively dispelled if it was pointed out to them that the Legal Adviser—henceforth raised to the rank of Under Secretary-General and a member of the Advisory Committee—is at present a national of a Power not permanently represented on the Council; and that, in the same way, one of the five posts would probably be always occupied by a national of a Power in the same category. Moreover, a Director interested in a particular question would always be asked to sit on the Advisory Committee for that particular matter. Furthermore, it might be provided that all posts of officials in charge of the different Sections should, after a certain transitional period, be reserved for nationals of countries not permanently represented on the Council.

"In this way, the countries in question would be much more effectively represented on the Secretariat than by merely increasing the number of Under Secretaries-General without investing them with specific duties. Such countries would be represented in the Secretariat by about 15 high officials, whereas at present only five Directors or Chiefs of Section belong to these countries. Two nationals of the Powers in question would always be present in the Advisory Committee—one of them permanently and with the rank of Under Secretary-General, the other as the Director of the Section dealing with the matter at issue. In this way, they would really participate in the general direction of the Secretariat, while the mere promotion of a limited number of Directors to the rank of Under Secretaries-General would not increase their real influence or share in the actual management of affairs."

The members of this Board would not sit in a *national* capacity. In view of the extent of their information and their natural tendency towards wide views and a broad outlook, they would make a most valuable contribution to these deliberations. They might play a considerable part in the work of maintaining the indispensable concordance in the relations between the Council and the Assembly.

18. The speakers who opposed the creation of this body urged, in the first place, that, so far from remedying the international dissatisfaction which was so much discussed in that Committee in 1928 and 1929, this system would considerably aggravate it. It was even questioned whether the establishment of such a body was constitutional, in view of the article in the Covenant dealing with the Secretary-General. Apart from the political disadvantages, which would take the form of a virtual recognition of the hegemony of the Powers permanently represented on the Council, its working would have very undesirable administrative effects. It would prevent the highest offices from being filled by officials belonging to countries other than those permanently represented on the Council.

In the view of other speakers, the minority system—whereby the Secretary-General, the only official responsible to the Council and Assembly, would be unable to take any political or administrative decision without previous consultation with other officials of equal rank, would lead to a division of responsibilities of which the consequences are hard to foresee. Immediate contact between the Secretary-General and the Directors, which has been one of the features of the system in force, would be made difficult by the interposition of intermediate officials. Furthermore, the system would not give the Under Secretaries-General a more complete knowledge of the League's affairs, because, under the present regime, all important questions are brought to their notice, they have access to the principal documents, and the Secretary-General states that he is always ready to discuss any matter with his assistants.

After all these conflicting views had been developed in the fullest detail from every angle, the Committee rejected the proposal to set up an Advisory Board of Under Secretaries-General by 30 votes to five.

19. In approaching the question of the Under Secretaries-General, the Committee had before it two proposals—one by the majority, to the effect that the number of Under Secretaries-General should be raised to eight, and the other by the minority, fixing the number at five—when a third proposal was made for the abolition of all these posts. One member of the Committee then proposed that the question of the Under Secretaries-General should be held over and investigated by a special Committee. The question of the abolition of these posts will, therefore, have to be examined by this special Committee, as well as various suggestions which emerged from a long discussion which is reported in the Minutes of the meetings. This Committee will be required to report not later than 1st May 1931 in order that its conclusions may be considered in due time by the States Members of the League and submitted to the next Assembly.

20. After discussion, the Committee decided that the Secretariat should be divided into 14 Sections as proposed by the Committee of Thirteen, on condition that the Secretary-General should have the faculty of appointing, as head of certain of these Sections, officers with the rank of Chief of Section.

The Committee decided to refer to the future special Committee the determination of the rules applicable to each of the principal officers.

CHAPTER 4.—STAFF: FIRST DIVISION.

A.—Recruiting.

21. After discussion, this part of the report of the Committee of Thirteen was adopted by the Committee without any amendment.

B.—Salaries and Promotions.

Several delegations stated that they were prepared to vote for the administrative changes recommended by the Committee of Thirteen which would not involve any increase in the budget, but declined to vote in favour of certain proposals involving increased expenditure unless these are absolutely necessary for the efficient working of the League.

Several other delegations stated that they would only vote for the proposals contained in this section of the report which would put an end to existing irregularities or remove a certain unfairness in the treatment of some categories of the staff.

The representative of India objected to the clause appearing on page 17 of the report: "It is only fair and also necessary to add an expatriation bonus," and the Committee decided to replace this by the following words: "It is only fair and also necessary . . . to include an expatriation bonus."

(a) Chiefs of Section.

22. Moreover, the Committee also decided to refer to the special Committee the question of the salaries of Chiefs of Section in charge of a Section and of the Chef de Cabinet of the Secretary-General, particularly with regard to the increase of salary proposed by the Committee of Thirteen.

(b) Members of Section.

23. The Committee adopted the proposals of the Committee of Thirteen relating to Members of Section.

However, in view of the financial consequences of the proposal to create eight special posts of counsellors of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, the Committee, after discussion and on the suggestion of the Secretary-General, decided to maintain the proposal to grant the title of "Counsellor," but to postpone until next year the question of the special bonuses to be granted in accordance with the report of the Committee of Thirteen. Certain delegates pointed out that, however justifiable the general desire to avoid any new expenditure might be, it was hardly possible to refuse this well-merited moral satisfaction.

(c) Interpreters, Translators, Précis-writers and Officials assimilated to Members of Section.

24. A large number of delegations desired to establish a connection between their vote on the improvement of the position of interpreters, translators, précis-writers, &c., and their vote on the special leave after seven years' service which the Committee of Thirteen proposed should be granted to officials of the First Division. They desired the adjournment till next year of the question of the grant of such leave, owing to its cost to the League; but they felt that the position of interpreters, translators and précis-writers should immediately be improved in the manner advocated by the Committee of Thirteen.

C.—Leave.

25. The Committee approved the proposals of the Committee of Thirteen which expressed the desire that members of the Secretariat belonging to distant countries should have sufficient opportunities of regaining touch with their own countries, and suggested that the League should, so far as was reasonable, pay the travelling expenses of the officials and of their families. Considering, however, that it would be undesirable to discriminate between officials domiciled in and out of Europe, it felt travelling expenses for the families of European officials should be granted under the same terms and at the same intervals.

On the other hand, for the reasons mentioned above, it postponed until next year the question of granting officials of the First Division three months' special leave after seven years' service.

CHAPTER 5.—STAFF: SECOND DIVISION.

26. The Committee approved the proposal to divide the staff of the Second Division into four categories.

One delegation considered that, in the proposed table, verbatim reporters were not, perhaps, given the place corresponding to their work and responsibility. The Secretary-General stated that he proposed in any event to do away with Class C of Category I, which consisted exclusively of verbatim reporters, and to assimilate them to Secretaries of Section.

The Swiss delegate urged the Committee to pay especial attention to the position of local staff, and to the widest possible application of the principle of equal treatment for all officials of the same category. At the suggestion of the Secretary-General, the Committee decided that the new local salary scales should be very carefully examined by the Supervisory Commission, particularly as it is not possible to establish them on a uniform percentage basis.

CHAPTER 6.—STAFF: THIRD DIVISION.

27. The Committee unanimously agreed to the proposal to fix the minimum salary of the staff of the Third Division at 3,000 francs, instead of the present figure of 2,400 francs.

The Committee also accepted the suggestions of the Committee of Thirteen relating to the office accommodation of the Secretariat, which in some cases is unsatisfactory.

CHAPTER 7.—STAFF : SAFEGUARDS AND METHODS OF APPLICATION OF THE STAFF REGULATIONS.

28. The Committee unanimously adopted this chapter, and confined itself to voting an amendment emphasising the advisory character of the "Judicial Committee," which is to replace the Advisory Committee, which at present deals with disciplinary and similar questions.

CHAPTER 8.—TRANSITIONAL MEASURES AND FUTURE AMENDMENTS OF THE STAFF REGULATIONS.

29. The Committee adopted this chapter; however, on the suggestion of the Swiss delegate it decided to specify that the following phrase:—" . . . the Secretary-General may amend the Regulations, but should be bound to report such amendments to the Assembly" should be interpreted to mean that the principles are laid down *ne varietur* by the Assembly, and can only be amended by it, their interpretation being left entirely to the Secretary-General.

The Committee also requested the Secretary-General to submit the revised Staff Regulations to the next Assembly.

CHAPTER 9.—ADAPTATION OF THE PROPOSED MEASURES TO THE ORGANISATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE.

30. Certain passages of this chapter deal with the principal officers of the International Labour Office, and it might have been thought logical to refer those passages by analogy to the special Committee. However, the Committee decided against this course, as the Director of the International Labour Office made a formal statement to the effect that the decisions of the Fourth Committee in regard to the Secretariat would be strictly followed for the purpose of drawing up the rules applicable to the International Labour Office.

In all other respects the Committee adopted the proposals of the Committee of Thirteen tending to assimilate the conditions of service of the staff of the International Labour Office with those of the Secretariat. It was emphasised that these modifications would be made subject to the decisions which were within the competence of the Governing Body.

CHAPTER 10.—ADAPTATION OF THE PROPOSED MEASURES TO THE ORGANISATION OF THE REGISTRY OF THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE.

31. When this chapter was read, the Committee noted a statement by the Registrar of the Court to the effect that certain questions to which the latter had attached considerable importance had been inadvertently omitted from the final report of the Committee of Thirteen, although they were included in the provisional report. These questions included, in particular, the prerogatives of the Court upon which it was its duty to insist, as they were mentioned in a provision of its Statute.

The Chairman of the Committee of Thirteen had confirmed, at the Registrar's request, that notwithstanding the changes made in the final text of its report, the Committee maintained its previous attitude in regard to these questions.

After hearing this statement, the Committee adopted the chapter relating to the Registry of the Permanent Court on the understanding that para. 62, concerning the salary of the Registrar and Deputy Registrar, would be referred to the special Committee in the same way as similar questions relating to the principal officers of the Secretariat..

CHAPTER II.—PENSIONS SYSTEM.

I.—General Observations.

32. The majority of the Committee considered that the introduction of a pensions system was a matter of capital importance, in order to secure the best candidates for the Secretariat and to maintain the high standard of the staff. It shared the unanimous opinion of the Committee of Thirteen that the establishment of an adequate system of retiring pensions was one of its primary duties and one of the most important features in the new organisation of the League institutions, for which it had been made responsible. It felt that this reform, which was, moreover, based on repeated recommendations of the Assembly, was in justice due to a staff with which the League had always had cause to be satisfied. Bearing this in mind, the Committee has striven, in spite of the difficulties of the task, to lay the foundations of a pensions system, affording the staff of the three international organisations protection against risks affecting their career or their lives.

Before proceeding to examine the main lines of the proposed system, it may not be superfluous to observe that, at its first session, the Committee of Thirteen laid down a number of general principles, and requested three actuaries of different nationalities to submit three separate reports to enable it to determine the possible lines and approximate cost of a pensions scheme applicable to the staff of the League of Nations.

On the basis of these reports, the Committee of Thirteen adopted the main lines of this system at its June session and asked the Secretary-General to draw up detailed regulations. The report of the Committee was forwarded to one of the actuaries, who estimated the cost of the scheme in a letter which was communicated to the Governments before the opening of the Assembly. The draft Regulations, having been sent to all the actuaries, were considered by the Committee of Thirteen at the beginning of the Assembly and referred to a Sub-Committee. The Sub-Committee made further amendments, which were again forwarded to one of the actuaries for his observations.

The draft Regulations, as adopted by the Committee of Thirteen on 15th September, were then submitted to the Fourth Committee, which, having discussed the principles underlying the scheme, set up a Sub-Committee to reconsider certain points to which attention had been drawn by the Committee. On receipt of the Sub-Committee's report, the Fourth Committee discussed the draft Regulations article by article, and finally adopted them on 30th September. The Committee of Thirteen and the Fourth Committee and their Sub-Committees were assisted in their work by the experts of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office.

Such are the stages through which the draft now before the Assembly has passed.

The draft Staff Pensions Regulations are appended to the present report, but it may not be out of place here to give a very brief summary of the main principles followed.

II.—*Application of the System.*

33.—(a) The pensions system will apply to all international and local officials of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, the International Labour Office and the Permanent Court of International Justice—

- (1) appointed for life ;
- (2) appointed for at least seven years ;
- (3) now serving, and having performed seven years' uninterrupted service in one of the organisations of the League, though appointed for a period of less than seven years.

(b) After discussion, the majority of the Committee decided to recommend that all the present principal officers of the Secretariat, the International Labour Office and the Permanent Court of International Justice* should be allowed to benefit by the pensions system. They will be free to choose between becoming members of the Pensions Fund and taking out an insurance policy with a private company. In the latter case, the League will pay a premium not exceeding the contribution it would have paid to the Pensions Fund on behalf of the official in question.

As these officials were excluded from the Provident Fund, the Regulations make special provision for retrospective payments on their part.

(c) Officials now members of the Provident Fund may elect to continue to participate in the Fund, under the present conditions, in place of adhering to the proposed system. They will be asked to choose between the two systems within one year from the coming into force of the new pensions scheme.

III.—*General Principles of the proposed System.*

34. The pensions scheme will be applicable both to the present and to the future staff.

A. Old-Age Pensions.

(a) The superannuation age is fixed at 60 years. The maximum pension is obtainable by officials fulfilling the following conditions :—

Having attained the age of 60 ;

Having served for 25 years.

This maximum pension will be equivalent to 50 per cent. of the official's average salary during the last three years of his service, provided always that the maximum pension may in no case exceed 25,000 francs—a figure which can be reached only in quite exceptional cases.

(b) If the official retires before he reaches the age of 60 years, but after 25 years of service, he will be given the option of taking an immediate pension or a sum equal to the present value of such pension. The pension (or capital sum) will be reduced by a coefficient depending on his age, the coefficients being given in Article 9 of the Regulations.

(c) If the official reaches the age of 60 and has not served for 25 years, or if he gives up his appointment before having served for 25 years and before reaching the age of 60, he will receive from the Pensions Fund a lump sum or a pension on a scale set forth in the following table :—

If he has served for less than three years ...	Nil.	
If he has served for a period between three and ten years.	A capital sum equal to the aggregate of his own payments to the Fund and the amount due to the Fund for him from the League with simple interest, provided that such sum shall not exceed the present value of the annuity which an official would receive after completing ten years of service.	
If he has served for upwards of ten years ...	A choice between a proportionate pension and a sum equal to the present value of the proportionate pension.	

No distinction will be made between voluntary resignations and terminations of appointment by the competent authority. The disciplinary measures provided for under the Staff Regulations of the several organisations will, however, include the withdrawal of the right to a pension.

B. Invalidity Pensions.

35. An official incapacitated by sickness will become entitled to the same pension which he would have received had he continued to serve in the League until the age of 60, taking as a basis the salary he was drawing at the date of invalidity. All cases of invalidity must be certified by a medical board, set up in terms of the Staff Regulations, and, in awarding the pension, account may be taken of the degree of the official's incapacity.

No invalidity pension will, however, be awarded in the case of an official who has not served at least two years, except in cases where, the sickness being due to service, the allowances and indemnities due to the official are fixed by the Staff Regulations.

No distinction will be made on the ground of the cause of invalidity ; the pension will be accorded whether the sickness was due to service or to other causes.

It is understood that the officials of the Registry of the Permanent Court of International Justice, whose terms of engagement (seven-year contracts, automatically renewable, unless denounced up to the age-limit of 60 years) are merely a form of those which will apply to officials of the Secretariat, will be entitled to invalidity pensions calculated as if they had continued to perform their duties up to the age of 60.

* In the Registry of the Court as now organised, only the Deputy Registrar comes under this provision. The Registrar has become entitled to a retiring pension under the Regulations concerning the "Grant of Pensions to Judges and the Registrar of the Permanent Court of International Justice, dated 30th September 1924."

C. Pensions for the Surviving Consort and Children.

36. In the case of an official's death, pensions will be provided for the widow and for dependent children. The amount of the pension for the widow is fixed at 50 per cent. of the lump sum or pension to which the official would have been entitled had he retired on account of invalidity, or, if he had already retired, at 50 per cent. of the pension which he was actually receiving. If the official leaves children under 18 years of age, the widow's pension will be increased by percentages laid down in the Regulations.

Upon the decease of a female official, the Administrative Board will decide whether an annuity shall be paid to the widower. Even if no annuity is paid to the widower, the Administrative Board will have power to award pensions to the children of the deceased official.

IV.—Contributions.

37. The funds necessary for the pensions scheme will be provided by contributions from the officials and from the League. These twofold contributions will continue to be paid during the official's entire period of service. The contribution paid by officials in the First Division is fixed at 6½ per cent. of their salary, and that by officials in the Second and Third Divisions at 5 per cent. of their salary. The League contribution is fixed at 9 per cent. for 1931. In addition, the League will make an annual contribution to provide for the amortisation over a period of 30 years of the deficit in the Pensions Fund due to the application of the system to officials already in the service on 1st January 1931.

The salary on which the above percentages are calculated is the remuneration received by the official for the duties he performs. It does not include entertainment allowances, travelling and subsistence allowances, overtime, &c.

Local officials of the Second Division may elect to contribute on the basis of their actual emoluments or upon the basis of the emoluments of an international official of corresponding rank. The contribution of the League will be effected on the basis of the choice made by the official.

The Committee rejected a proposal that the League contribution to the Pensions Fund should be furnished by the States, account being taken of the number of their nationals respectively employed by the League.

It was represented to the Committee that this proposal not only raised constitutional questions, but was inconsistent with the decisions it had already reached as to the international character of the Secretariat staff.

The Committee also felt that it was not within its province to go into the question of the obligations to the Pensions Fund of a State withdrawing from the League of Nations.

Organisation of the Pensions Fund.

38. After a protracted discussion, the Committee decided that the system should come into force at the beginning of next year. Some members expressed the opinion that the draft Regulations had been laid before the Assembly too late for the latter to examine it thoroughly before coming to a decision, and that the Governments would find some difficulty in understanding how it came about that a scheme of such importance had been passed in apparent haste. They accordingly moved "that the proposed system of pensions shall, if adopted, come into force on 1st January 1932, but with effect retrospectively as from 1st January 1931." The majority of the Committee, however, felt that, as the question had been investigated in such detail by all the authorities to which it had been referred, any further postponement was undesirable. The introduction of a pensions scheme had been contemplated since the League was first formed, and its necessity had been clearly demonstrated. Any further delay would entail increased expenditure. The last word, however, rested with the Assembly, as it was provided in Article 31 that the Regulations could at any time be amended by the Assembly.

It was accordingly decided that the Pensions Fund should be established on 1st January 1931; it will be the property of the League of Nations, but will be administered separately from the other assets of the League.

The execution of the Regulations and the management of the Fund will be effected by an Administrative Board consisting of three members elected by the Assembly, a representative of the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, a representative of the Director of the International Labour Office, and two members elected by secret ballot by the officials who are subject to the Regulations.

On all questions regarding investment, the Administrative Board will take the advice of an Investments Committee of three members nominated by the Financial Committee of the League of Nations, subject to the approval of the Council of the League.

CONCLUSION.

39. An institution such as the League of Nations, set up to give concrete expression to the high ideal of ensuring the maintenance and organisation of peace throughout the world, could not take shape immediately and stand solid and inviolate in the purity of its principles, perfect in its harmony and the balance of its structure, faultless in the development and the co-ordination of its organs. The work of human hands, even when touched by genius, cannot rise out of nothing and stand forever unchanged. It must be built up by stages, ever nearer perfection, ever loftier and more harmonious.

The first stage of the organisation of the League of Nations represents a creation of which you may well be proud, and which does credit to the distinguished men who achieved it. We are now tracing the main outlines of a second stage intended to establish the career and future of our staff on firmer, more stable and secure foundations. We owe to these faithful workers of the early hours this just tribute to their ability and their devotion. We are advancing with firm and unfaltering steps towards the organisation of an institution under which the rights, interests and security of the peoples will be ruled by a lofty internationalism which associates them in a common

endeavour to establish solidarity and co-operation for peace while leaving their traditions, their independence and their national character and genius unimpaired. We are seeking to shape the instrument which is indispensable for the accomplishment of this mighty task.

Before concluding, I wish to make it clear—I hope you will forgive your rapporteur for stressing the point—that we do not claim to have devised the perfect and final organisation of our institutions; this is only a stage in the work of consolidation, a step forward which we believe to be indispensable.

ANNEX XII.—Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly on Traffic in Opium and other Dangerous Drugs.

In laying before the Assembly the record of the League's work in the campaign against the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs during the past 12 months, the Fifth Committee affirms its unanimous desire that, in view of the seriousness of the problem, the League of Nations should achieve definite results without delay.

The statements made by many delegates in this sense show that public opinion in their countries would regard any failure or delay in the work undertaken as a serious blow to the prestige of the League.

The work accomplished this year has been particularly important, and the Fifth Committee has noted with satisfaction that the Advisory Committee unanimously adopted a plan for the limitation of the manufacture of narcotic drugs. All the members of the Fifth Committee agree that the practical realisation of a plan for direct limitation by means of a Convention adopted by all countries should now be the first point on the programme of the League in this matter.

At the same time, the Committee has noted with satisfaction a very important development in the application of the Geneva Convention in a number of countries. The Committee has, moreover, stated its opinion strongly in favour of the twofold method by which the Advisory Committee is endeavouring to attain its objects: a stricter application of the provisions of the Geneva and Hague Conventions combined with the limitation of manufacture by means of international agreement.

The present statement deals with a number of essential points—the position in regard to the ratification of the Conventions and the laws in the various countries; consideration of the serious question of illicit traffic and the strengthening of the supervisory measures of all kinds to put a stop to it; preparatory work for the Conference on the limitation of manufacture.

1. RATIFICATION OF THE CONVENTIONS.

The Fifth Committee, like the Advisory Committee, has always attached, and rightly so, the greatest importance to the ratification of the Geneva and Hague Conventions, which it regards as the true foundation of the League's work in this sphere. It has noted with satisfaction that progress has been made in regard to the ratification of the Geneva Convention. The number of ratifications, which was 27 at the 1929 session of the Advisory Committee, rose to 34 at the 1930 session, and at present amounts to 38, owing to the recent ratifications by Denmark (23rd April), Hungary (27th August), Uruguay (11th September), and the accession of Estonia (30th August). This represents 11 ratifications in a year and a-half.

We have now reached a stage where it is possible to draw a comparison between ratifications of the Opium Convention and the ratifications of other Conventions drawn up by the League of Nations. The Committee was very glad to learn that the Opium Convention heads the list of Conventions which have obtained the largest number of ratifications (except the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice); this is a satisfactory result.

Furthermore, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Haiti, the Irish Free State, Lithuania, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama and Sweden have informed the League of their intention to ratify the Convention or to submit it for approval or ratification to Parliament.

We must not, however, overlook the fact that there is another very serious side to this picture, and the Fifth Committee, while glad to learn that Turkey has adopted measures to strengthen the internal supervision of the traffic in narcotic drugs, has noted with regret that that country has not yet ratified the Hague and Geneva Conventions. The Committee, however, earnestly hopes that Turkey will respond to the appeal for co-operation which the Council has made to it.

The Committee has also observed with regret that the majority of the Latin-American countries have not yet ratified the Geneva Convention. The Venezuelan delegate pointed out a serious danger for the American peoples—they might be specially exposed to the activities of the drug traffickers who were hard-pressed elsewhere by Customs and police measures, that were possibly more stringent than in certain American countries. Notwithstanding the absence of full official information, drug addiction is known to be prevalent to a disquieting extent in some of these countries. The Venezuelan delegate, therefore, suggested that an urgent appeal should be made to the Latin-American countries that have not yet ratified the Convention in order that they may consider again the possibility of doing so and that they should also be invited to adopt the Model Code of administrative regulations. The Fifth Committee requests the Assembly to approve this proposal.

2. LEGISLATIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES.

As regards the new legislative and administrative measures adopted in the various countries to ensure the supervision of the traffic in narcotic drugs, the Fifth Committee has been glad to note the progress indicated in the statements of representatives of several countries, the impulse to which has largely been given by the organs of the League.

The German delegate pointed out that the new Law of 10th December 1929, on traffic in opium, which came into force on 1st January 1930, complies with all the obligations devolving on Germany as a result of her ratification of the 1925 Convention. A series of new decrees for the application of the law have been issued, and other decrees, relating, in particular, to the purchase of narcotic drugs within the country and sales in pharmacies, are in preparation.

With reference to the arrangement concluded with China at the end of 1924 as to the application of the system of import certificates between Germany and China, the German delegate stated that his country is also endeavouring to co-operate in this matter with South American and Central American States. His Government is also negotiating with Turkey, which, like China, has not yet acceded to the Geneva Convention, with a view to the conclusion of an arrangement for the mutual supervision of the drug traffic.

In France, the law was modified in 1929 and 1930 by the creation of a Narcotics Bureau and the extension of the import certificate system, even to countries which have not ratified the Geneva Convention. In addition, the Decree of 20th March 1930, which deals with manufacture, lays down that a simple declaration is no longer sufficient for the manufacture of drugs: but that, in the future, it will be necessary to receive authority by ministerial decree, after consultation with an appropriate commission. Finally, a decree establishing the supervision of the esters of morphine and their salts was promulgated on 12th September 1930. The French delegate also reminded the Committee that, in a country under French mandate, viz. Syria, a new step forward has been made, in that measures have been taken to deal with the production of the raw material itself, the French Government having had the plantations of Indian hemp destroyed.

The year 1930 is also an important date for Greece, especially as regards the port of Salonica, which was regarded, at the time that the Geneva Convention was signed, as one of the great centres for the distribution of opium. In 1926, 80 per cent. of the opium coming from Yugoslavia passed through Salonica: in 1930, exports were reduced to zero. This result is due to the supervision of the drug traffic by the Greek authorities and to the smooth working of the arrangements for the issue of import certificates, and has not been achieved without considerable sacrifices. Far-reaching measures have also been adopted with regard to manufactured drugs, which are a State monopoly.

3. ILLICIT TRAFFIC.

The Fifth Committee is glad to note that the past year has been marked by important results regarding the illicit traffic. A great number of cases have been reported, and the authorities have frequently succeeded in discovering the channels through which drugs passed into the illicit traffic, as well as the persons organising the traffic and supplying the drugs.

The Committee was no less struck by the extent of the illicit traffic; the magnitude of seizures like those recently made at Marseilles, Rotterdam, and Hamburg: the revelations in the report by the Egyptian Narcotics Bureau on the 500,000 drug addicts in Egypt: the information relating to the enormous quantities of opium and drugs found in the illicit traffic in the Far East; and the data collected on the vast traffickers' organisations at work in all parts of the world.

The Committee earnestly hopes that the new measures of supervision reported by the French, Swiss, Japanese, Persian and Chinese delegates will turn out to be effective.

The French delegate announced that the licence for the manufacture of drugs had been withdrawn from two factories the products from which were found in considerable quantities in the illicit traffic—namely, Roesler and the Société Industrielle de Sainte-Geneviève; and that although these establishments were authorised to carry out certain current contracts for the supply of drugs to the legal trade, the contracts in question would very shortly terminate.

The Swiss delegate stated that the factory of Dr. Hefti, at Alstetten, which had been implicated in the illicit traffic, no longer had a licence for the manufacture of narcotic drugs.

The Japanese delegate said that his Government issued new regulations on the supervision of the drug traffic on 17th May 1930. These regulations are much stricter than previous measures and cover transactions in drugs from manufacture to retail sale. No drugs may be bought without a police certificate when the purchaser is unknown to the seller. A very important regulation has also been issued on the transport of opium by sea. Japanese vessels engaging in the drug trade will no longer have the right to carry opium from a foreign port to Japan, and they will only be able to engage in traffic in foreign waters on condition that they conform strictly to the regulations in force in foreign countries. Offenders will be liable to very heavy fines.

As regards the manufacture of cocaine, an appreciable reduction has already been achieved, and doctors are more and more replacing cocaine by less harmful substitutes. The Japanese delegate asserted the desire of his Government to co-operate with the Government of India, and he regretted that the enquiries so far instituted had failed to discover the origin of the cocaine found in the illicit traffic. He expressed the hope that the new regulations would lead to more satisfactory results.

The attention of the Fifth Committee was drawn to the fact that the illicit imports into China of Persian opium coming from the Persian Gulf continue to be very large.

Nevertheless, the Committee was gratified to note the information furnished by the Persian delegate as to the intentions of his Government and the measures taken by Persia to give effect to the regulations of the League, notwithstanding the serious difficulties which this country must still encounter in regulating the traffic in opium.

Finally, the Committee gave special attention to the position in China, and expressed the hope, which was shared by the Chinese delegate, that the co-operation of China and the Powers which had treaties with that country would contribute effectively towards the suppression of the illicit traffic in China, which still continues to be considerable. Large seizures of Chinese opium, raw or prepared, have been made by the authorities at Hong Kong and in the Dutch East Indies, Malaysia and the Philippines. The Fifth Committee, in full sympathy with the efforts made by the Chinese Government to improve the position, recommends that China and the Powers concerned should apply the recommendations made by the Advisory Committee in regard to the illicit traffic in opium and drugs.

With a view to still more effective action against the illicit traffic, the Fifth Committee approved the suggestions made by the Advisory Committee for improving the methods of suppressing the illicit traffic which are set out in the Committee's report to the Council on the work of its thirteenth session.

As regards the two recommendations adopted by the Assembly last year on the Model Code of administrative regulations and the supervision of the traffic through the post, the Fifth Committee is glad to note that these provisions are already in force in a fairly large number of countries, and recommends that they should be extended to all countries.

The Committee was unanimous in thinking that the penalties laid down in many countries for offences against the drug laws were too lenient and, in agreement with the Advisory Committee, it desires to point out that the Fifth Committee a year ago recommended that all countries should provide more suitable penalties in their laws. It is glad to note from the statements of the delegates of Austria and Canada that these two countries are adopting this course, and it recommends States which have not yet done so to take strong measures to this end. It notes with satisfaction that the Advisory Committee has requested the Secretariat to undertake an investigation into the penalty provisions in criminal legislation in force in the various countries with a view to putting down the illicit traffic. It expresses the hope that, in accordance with the recommendations of the Advisory Committee, this work may prepare the way as far as possible for an international agreement on legal penalties, while recognising that all other work of the Secretariat must, until the Conference on Limitation is held, be subordinated to making preparations for that Conference.

The Chinese delegate, during the discussion on the illicit traffic, proposed the following resolution :

“The Assembly :

“Viewing with grave concern the enormous illicit traffic in narcotic drugs in various parts of the world ;

“Instructs the Secretary-General to invite the Governments of States Members and non Members of the League of Nations, to conduct immediately in their respective countries a thorough investigation, along the lines of a questionnaire to be prepared by the Advisory Committee, into the nature and extent of the illicit traffic in drugs and to reply to the Secretary-General as soon as possible, in order that the League of Nations and the interested Governments may, in co-operation with each other, devise effective measures for its suppression.”

The discussion on this resolution showed that, while there was no difference of opinion as regards its general aim, several delegations thought that it did not bring out certain aspects of the problem sufficiently. Moreover, in view of the necessity of obtaining from Governments, for the Secretariat's preparatory work for the Conference, all information likely to throw light on the manner in which drugs had been diverted into the illicit traffic during the past few years, there was a feeling that the resolution was not likely to produce results as promptly as the situation required. In addition, it was pointed out that the Advisory Committee has for years past strongly urged the holding of enquiries of the kind suggested, that it had even indicated the general principles for such enquiry, but that its efforts had to some extent been hampered by the fact that certain Governments had not forwarded their reports on seizures to the League. As a result of the examination of the question by a Sub-Committee, consisting of the representatives of Chile, China, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands and Roumania, and the Rapporteur (Spain), the following text approved by the Sub-Committee was submitted to the Fifth Committee by the Chinese representative and was adopted by it :—

“The Assembly views with grave concern the enormous illicit traffic in narcotic drugs in various parts of the world.

“It recalls the measures which have been repeatedly advocated by the Advisory Committee for the investigation of cases of illicit traffic, for communication of information, and the rendering of mutual assistance between the investigating authorities in the different countries, and for the reporting of full particulars to the League.

“It also recalls that these measures have been unanimously approved by the Council and the Assembly.

“It is impressed by the fact that these measures are not in all cases fully applied by Governments.

“Accordingly, in order that the League of Nations and the interested Governments may, in co-operation with each other, devise effective measures for the suppression of illicit traffic, the Assembly instructs the Secretary-General to invite the Governments of States Members and non-Members of the League of Nations, to take the following measures :—

“(a) The Governments of countries where the measures recommended by the League are not as yet being fully applied should review the arrangements in force in their countries and take whatever action is necessary to ensure the full application of the measures referred to.

“(b) If such action has not already been taken, thorough investigation covering the last three years should be made and full information communicated to the Secretary-General, if possible within the next three months, with regard to the following questions :—

“(1) Kind and quantity of drugs involved in illicit transactions ;
 “(2) Origin of the drugs, marks, labels, &c. ;
 “(3) Moments and places at which the drugs entered the illicit traffic ;
 “(4) Where drugs were shipped or forwarded and names of shipping or forwarding agents or consignors ;

“(5) Destination, or address of consignees ;
 “(6) Methods used and routes followed by smugglers, and names of ships, if any ;
 “(7) Seizures made on the territory of the respective Governments which are important either because of the quantities involved or because of the light thrown by them on the working of the administrative system of control ;

“(8) Action taken by the Government in each case of seizure in regard to persons involved, particularly those possessing authorisations or licences, penalties imposed, and method of disposal of seized drugs ;

“(9) Any other matter which would assist in the suppression of illicit traffic.

“Further, the Assembly requests the Advisory Committee to study and report to the Council upon the question as to whether Governments should be asked to indicate, as far as it is possible for them to do so, either in their annual reports or by means of an answer to a special questionnaire, the approximate number of persons in their country addicted to each type of drug, the approximate amounts of such drugs consumed, and the methods of treatment employed.”

4. CONFERENCE ON THE LIMITATION OF MANUFACTURE.

The question of the Conference on the limitation of manufacture is naturally that which longest engaged the attention of the Committee. The plan for the direct limitation of the manufacture of narcotics drawn up by the Advisory Committee, in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Tenth Assembly on 24th September 1929, after a study of the various proposals submitted to it, was the most important work achieved by the Advisory Committee at its last session.

The Fifth Committee has learnt with satisfaction that the date of the Conference, originally arranged for 1st December 1930, has been definitely fixed by the Council for 27th May 1931, and that the preliminary meeting of manufacturing countries convened by Great Britain, in accordance with the offer of the British Government which was approved by the Council at its meeting of 14th May 1930, will meet on 27th October. At the request of the Spanish representative, the British delegate announced to the Committee the list of States invited to the preliminary Conference in London. These States are : France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Turkey, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United States of America. The Committee was unanimous in the view that the Conference on Limitation would mark a decisive stage in the struggle against the illicit traffic, and that real results might be confidently expected. Nevertheless, the Committee declared its agreement with the view expressed by several delegates—in particular those of the Netherlands and Switzerland—who insisted that the limitation of manufacture would not replace the system of supervision now in force as laid down in the Conventions, but should supplement it.

The Fifth Committee held a long debate on the question whether the May Conference should be limited to ascertain number of States, as provided for in the decisions of the Assembly and the Council, or whether it was desirable, as proposed by the delegate of Venezuela, to expand it into a general Conference of all States Members and non-Members of the League of Nations. The delegations which, like that of Uruguay, supported the Venezuelan proposal, pointed out that all States were interested in the supervision of the distribution among all consuming countries of the quantities of narcotics corresponding to the total production which might be fixed by the Conference. They added that it would be easier later on to obtain ratification by all States if those States had themselves taken part in the discussions of the Conference, had put forward their own views, and had signed the Convention. The delegates of Great Britain and India deprecated anything that would delay the bringing into operation of the decisions already taken unanimously by the Council and the Assembly, and stated that the reason why it had been suggested that the May Conference should only be a limited Conference was to enable it to carry out a practical and definite task.

The delegate of Italy endeavoured to reconcile these two points of view and proposed that the May Conference should be called as provided for, and that it should draw up a draft Convention regulating the matter as completely as possible, but that this draft should be submitted to the various Governments and should be discussed and approved without delay by a general Conference. It appeared to the Committee that, in spite of its conciliatory aim, the Indian proposal would result in complicating the procedure, as it would involve a third Conference. The delegates of the Netherlands and France agreed with this view, and the Committee finally adopted the idea that the best way of satisfying the legitimate wish of all States to be represented at the Conference would be simply to convert the May Conference into a general Conference of all States, as proposed by Venezuela, and to ask the Fourth Committee to vote the necessary supplementary credits. The Committee therefore adopted the following resolution :—

“The Fifth Committee :

“Requests the Assembly to decide that all States Members or non-Members of the League of Nations be invited to be represented at the Conference on the Limitation of the Manufacture of Dangerous Drugs, which is to be held at Geneva in May 1931; and

“Requests the Fourth Committee to vote the necessary credits.”

5. COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO OPIUM-SMOKING IN THE FAR EAST.

The Secretariat gave the Committee information relating to the work of the Commission of Enquiry into the control of opium-smoking in the Far East. The Commission of Enquiry returned to Geneva in May, and is now drawing up its report, which will show in great detail the results of the far-reaching enquiry which it has made into the problem of opium-smoking in several countries and colonies. The report will be sent to the printers in October and will be considered by the Council at its January session. The Council will then take the necessary steps to call the Conference of Contracting Parties, in accordance with Article XII of the Geneva Agreement of 11th February 1925.

6. PERMANENT CENTRAL OPIUM BOARD.

The Fifth Committee, after hearing from the Secretary of the Permanent Central Opium Board an interesting statement on the Board's work during the past year, was happy to note that the Advisory Committee and the Board were working closely together, and that this was likely to yield useful results for the work of the Secretariat in preparing for the Conference.

ANNEX XIII.—*Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly on Traffic in Women and Children.*

The Fifth Committee has examined and discussed in detail the report on the Ninth Session of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee, adopted on 9th April 1930, and of which the Council took note on 13th May of this year.

The work done by the League of Nations during the last 10 years in this field has, in the opinion of the Members of the Fifth Committee, achieved very marked progress as revealed in the discussions of the Committee.

The Fifth Committee noted with special interest that a preliminary report is to be prepared by the Secretariat with a view to an inquiry concerning the organisation and smooth working of the central authorities established in virtue of Article 1 of the 1904 International Agreement. In

connection with this inquiry, the Committee suggested that the procedure employed in cases of traffic in opium might also be used for cases of traffic in women and children. When a seizure is reported in the case of opium traffic, the Secretariat immediately applies to the authorities of the country concerned for full and precise details on the case. The same should be applied whenever the Press reports a case of traffic in women and children. The Secretariat should apply at once to the central authority of the country concerned. The Traffic in Women and Children Committee could consider details of method at its next session.

With regard to the elimination of the age-limit from the Convention of 1910, as amended by the Convention of 1921, the Committee noted that replies had not yet been received from all Governments consulted, and that the Advisory Committee therefore had called for a further report to be submitted next year. The Fifth Committee, therefore, refrained from a full discussion on this point, but heard with interest the statements of the French and Polish members to the effect that action in this matter is being favourably considered in France and has already been taken in Poland.

Several members of the Fifth Committee stressed the importance of the work, entrusted to a Sub-Committee, of studying the laws and regulations tending to the more effective punishment of *souteneurs*, and especially the nature of the penalties which could be imposed for that purpose. It was reported that 500 traffickers had been prosecuted in Buenos Ayres, thanks to the energetic action of a judge of the Argentine, M. Rodriguez Ocampo, to whom the Committee wished to pay a tribute.

The inquiry which is being undertaken by the Secretariat with regard to the employment of women police seemed to the Fifth Committee to be of great importance, and it thought that a report on this question would be of great help in those countries where women police forces are not organised or are not yet adequately organised.

The Fifth Committee also took note of the various questions which are to be placed on the agenda of the Traffic in Women and Children Committee next year—namely, protection of young female artistes touring abroad in music-halls and similar places of amusement, obscene publications, repatriation of foreign prostitutes and assistance to discharged female prisoners.

The question of the abolition of the system of licensed houses gave rise to an interesting exchange of views. In Chile, licensed houses were closed four years ago. The delegate of China informed the Committee that the Government of Nanking had passed a law abolishing the system of licensed houses in the larger Chinese towns. The delegate of France stated that, in his country, the example of closing licensed houses in Strasbourg had been followed by 12 other towns, and that six other municipalities are now contemplating new legislation in this field. In Roumania, as stated by the delegate of that country, the system of licensed houses had definitely been abolished in July of this year. The Fifth Committee took note of all these facts, and the majority of the Committee warmly congratulated the delegates of the countries where this progress had been made during recent years.

The importance of following the development in countries where the system of licensed houses has been abolished was strongly emphasised. The Committee noted with the utmost satisfaction that the Council has agreed to forward to the States Members and non-Members of the League of Nations the study prepared by the Secretariat on laws and regulations with a view to protecting public order and health against the dangers of prostitution in countries where the system of licensed houses has been abolished. Several members of the Committee emphasised the great practical value of the information thus given regarding the methods applied and the experience gained in those countries.

The Fifth Committee agreed with the Traffic in Women and Children Committee that this information clearly proves that the fear that abolition would result in an increase of venereal disease or would be prejudicial to public order is unfounded, and that the danger of international traffic has been diminished by the closing of the houses.

The Fifth Committee felt that the Secretariat should continue its studies in this field and should investigate more particularly the comparative results of two abolitionist systems—namely, the difference between the system of free treatment and the system of compulsion in dealing with venereal diseases.

The Fifth Committee also thought that the collection of laws and regulations relating to the traffic in women and children in the course of preparation would be of great value and should be published as soon as possible.

The Fifth Committee learned with interest the details relating to the extension of the inquiry on the traffic in women and children to the East, and expressed its thanks for the generous gift of \$125,000 offered by the American Bureau of Social Hygiene. All the representatives of the Eastern countries to be visited—namely, the delegates of China, Japan, India, Persia and Siam—expressed their satisfaction that the inquiry was to be extended to their countries and stated their willingness to give all possible help and facilities to the investigators. They wished, however, to stress the necessity of taking into account the special conditions and customs prevailing in the East. The delegate of Siam particularly welcomed the inquiry at this moment, which was marked by a growth of the means of communication with neighbouring countries, and consequently by an increase in the danger of a growth in the traffic in women and children.

The Fifth Committee expressed its good wishes for the success of the inquiry.

Many members of the Fifth Committee, and particularly the delegate of Finland, expressed their high esteem for the voluntary organisations which co-operate with the Traffic in Women and Children Committee and the great value they attach to their work.

The Committee expressed its sincere regret at the departure of Dame Rachel Crowdy, Chief of the Social Questions and Opium Traffic Section, and thanked her for the valuable services she had rendered.

ANNEX XIV.—Report presented by the Fifth Committee to the Assembly on Child Welfare.

At its sixth session, held at Geneva from 9th to 16th April last, the Child Welfare Committee continued its study of the various questions to which it always devotes such careful attention.

At its 1929 session the Committee completed the preparation of two preliminary draft international Conventions, one relating to the return of children and young people to their homes, and the other

to assistance to foreign minors. In accordance with the Council's decision, the Secretary-General communicated these two drafts to all Governments, asking them for their observations.

As only 22 Governments responded to the Secretary-General's invitation in regard to the draft concerning the return of children and young people to their homes, the Committee passed a resolution with a view to securing the observations of those Governments which had not replied. The question therefore reappears on the agenda of the next session of the Child Welfare Committee.

A larger number of Governments sent in observations on the second draft, relating to assistance to foreign minors. As several of them expressed the opinion that the problem should be further examined, more particularly as regards the connection between assistance for minors and general assistance for indigent foreigners and the refund of the cost of assistance by the country of which the assisted person is a national, the Committee referred the Government's replies to the Legal Sub-Committee. It requested the Sub-Committee to reconsider the preliminary draft Convention in the light of the replies received and to submit proposals or suggestions with a view to ensuring as favourable and comprehensive a solution as possible of the problem of the assimilation of foreign minors to national minors from the standpoint of assistance and protection.

The British delegate to the Council, referring to the enquiry undertaken by the Child Welfare Committee, expressed some doubt whether the Committee would be well advised to devote its time to this subject, as it would seem that the question of assistance to foreigners must be considered as a whole. He would rather suggest that the Committee should be advised to consider and state for the information of the Council, what was the nature of the difficulties which arose as regards the maintenance and protection of foreign children, in order that the Council might decide whether the time had come to consult Governments as to the desirability of convening an international conference to consider the whole question of assistance to foreigners.

While it is perfectly true that the problem of assistance to foreigners is deserving of study as a whole, as the British delegate suggested to the Council, it does not necessarily seem to follow that the Child Welfare Committee should abandon the enquiry to which, with the Assembly's encouragement, it has already devoted so much attention. Assistance to foreign minors is, of course, one of the many aspects of the great problem of assistance to foreigners in general. Regarded from the standpoint of minors, however, the Fifth Committee considers that this problem has a special aspect, which the Child Welfare Committee seems particularly well qualified to examine.

The Legal Sub-Committee's work has led to the preparation of preliminary drafts on which numerous replies have been received from Governments. A study of these replies may enable the Sub-Committee to put forward at an early date fresh proposals which, if adopted in the form of bilateral or multilateral agreements, would represent an undoubted improvement in the position of indigent foreign minors.

The Committee is therefore of opinion that it would be desirable to agree to the procedure proposed by the Child Welfare Committee, but at the same time to accept the suggestion offered to the Council by the British delegate. In that case, the Child Welfare Committee would be asked to do two things—to continue, in the manner proposed, to complete the preliminary draft prepared by the Legal Sub-Committee, and to inform the Council of the difficulties encountered, so that they may receive consideration if at any time the whole question of assistance to foreigners should be dealt with by an international conference.

The Committee also dealt with the question of the recognition and enforcement abroad of maintenance orders. It recognised that any adequate consideration of the problem must have regard, not only to judicial decisions given in favour of minors, but also to judicial decisions given in favour of either parent, especially where the parent has been granted custody of the minor.

The Committee, while fully appreciating the legal and administrative difficulties of the problem came to the conclusion that every effort should be made to frame international agreements, either generally or among groups of countries with the same legal principles, so to ensure the mutual recognition and enforcement of maintenance orders. The Fifth Committee concurs with this opinion.

The Council decided to consult all the Governments to ascertain whether they had any objection to an extension of the Child Welfare Committee's duties, so that it would have authority to continue the study of the question on the lines of the scheme now proposed, on the understanding that this extension should not be taken as establishing a precedent. Governments have been asked to reply before 1st November at the latest.

The agenda of the Child Welfare Committee included other questions of great importance. Among these may be cited (1) the protection of the illegitimate child, which will be the subject of a special report to be presented at the next session, dealing with social measures concerned with the illegitimate child; and (2) the auxiliary services of juvenile courts which will be examined in some detail in 1931.

The Fifth Committee approves the close co-operation of the Child Welfare Committee with the International Educational Cinematographic Institute. Hopes were expressed at this session of an early conclusion of the draft international Convention for the abolition of tariff barriers against educational films prepared by the Institute. The Committee went on to adopt a resolution drawing the attention of Governments to the necessity of taking measures to ensure that the effects of film censorship shall not be frustrated by the inclusion of uncensored variety turns when children and young people are admitted to the performance. By a decision of the Council, these recommendations were communicated to all the Governments.

The Committee further took note of the progress of the preliminary inquiry concerning children in moral danger, and set up a Sub-Committee to report to the Committee at the next session on the question of blind children. Finally, the Committee adopted the reports presented by the liaison officers with the International Labour Office and with the Health Organisation of the League of Nations respectively.

This brief account of the proceedings suggests that the Child Welfare Committee is at pains to observe the Council's recommendations with regard to its methods of work. Although determined not to leave out of account any of the numerous problems raised by such an immense subject as child welfare, the Committee is careful to keep within its proper sphere, and its efforts are chiefly concentrated on preparing preliminary drafts that can be used by Governments for the conclusion among themselves of agreements which, by promoting child welfare, promote also social progress under the aegis of the League of Nations.

The Child Welfare Committee learned with deep regret of the departure of its Secretary, Dame Rachel Crowdy, Chief of the Social Questions and opimn Traffic Section. It offered Dame Rachel its best wishes for the future and trusted that it would always be able to count upon her experience, as it had always in the past been sure of her valuable assistance.

The Fifth Committee proposes to the Assembly to associate itself with these regrets and with the hope expressed by the Child Welfare Committee.

ANNEX XV.—Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly on Penal Administration.

In May 1929 the Howard League for Penal Reform, London, addressed a petition, supported by a large number of other organisations, to the Council of the League of Nations requesting the League to take action for the improvement of penal administration and to frame an international convention on the treatment of persons in captivity.

In view of the fact that numerous and representative organisations were in favour of action by the League in this field, and considering that there were certain international aspects of the question, the Council decided, in January 1930, to request the Assembly to place the subject of penal administration on its agenda with the object of deciding the best way in which the League of Nations could co-operate with the International Prison Commission, and other interested organisations, in their efforts to assist in the development of prison administration in accordance with modern economic, social and health standards.

The Council at the same time instructed the Secretary-General to consult the International Prison Commission at Berne and the Howard League for Penal Reform in London as to what, in their opinion, are the aspects of penal administration which could advantageously be dealt with internationally under the auspices of the League.

The Council further instructed the Secretary-General, as soon as he had received the observations of these two organisations, to ask for the views of the International Labour Office, the Economic Committee, the Health Committee and the Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People on points raised which might fall within the natural sphere of action of these bodies, and to report progress in due course to the Assembly.

The Secretary-General submitted a report to the Fifth Committee, in which he stated that, up to the present time, only the observations of the Howard League for Penal Reform had been received, and that the International Prison Commission had informed him that a memorandum containing its views would be transmitted during the course of this autumn. In its communication, the International Prison Commission stated that, at a meeting held in Prague in August last, it once again expressed itself most willing to co-operate with the League in the field of penal administration, and that it had decided to set up a special Sub-Committee with a view to facilitating such co-operation.

The British delegate on the Fifth Committee suggested that the Council of the League should be requested to circulate to all Governments Members of the League the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners recently drawn up by the International Prison Commission, and to invite the Governments to submit reports on these rules with reference to penal administration in their respective countries. This set of rules, consisting of 55 articles, has been very carefully prepared by a committee of highly qualified experts, and has been approved by the International Prison Commission. The Standard Minimum Rules show the general direction which it is desired should be followed in the application of every penitentiary system. They do not describe a model organisation for prisons, but they serve to indicate the minimum conditions which should be observed in the treatment of prisoners from the humanitarian and social points of view.

The Irish delegate proposed that these rules should not only be communicated to States Members of the League, but also to non-members. The Italian delegate, without wishing to enter upon a discussion on the substance of the Standard Minimum Rules, and reserving the general question as to how far the League of Nations may extend its action in this connection, suggested that the rules be also transmitted to the International Labour Office, the Health Committee, the Economic Committee and to the Commission for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People. The Belgian and the German delegates proposed to add to this list the "Association internationale de droit pénal" and the "Union internationale de droit pénal." The delegate of Uruguay declared that, although his Government was of the opinion that the question of penal administration does fall within the competence of the League, he thought that one should not proceed too quickly in this matter, and that, in particular, the rules of the International Prison Commission should be studied more closely before the League transmits them to the Governments.

With regard to the future co-operation between the International Prison Commission and the League, the British delegate proposed that a League Committee should be appointed immediately to confer with representatives of the International Prison Commission for the purpose of considering the best way in which the two bodies could collaborate for the development of prison administration. Several members of the Fifth Committee, however, were of the opinion that, instead of the proposed Committee, the Secretary-General should be charged with this task.

ANNEX XVI.—Report submitted to the Assembly by the Sixth Committee on Russian, Armenian, Assyrian, Assyro-Chaldean and Turkish Refugees.

The question of the future organisation of the refugee work, on which the Assembly has to give a decision, was defined in two reports, on which the Sixth Committee has based its examination—i.e. the report drawn up by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations in accordance with the instructions given to him by the last Assembly, and the report of the Inter-Governmental Advisory Commission for Refugees.

The conclusion reached in the first of these reports was that there are two separate aspects of the refugee work—in the first place, a juridical aspect relating to legal protection, civil rights and the status of refugees, as defined by several Inter-Governmental Arrangements negotiated at Geneva; in the second place, a humanitarian aspect relating to the maintenance of the refugees, relief, employment, and the finding of work.

The Secretary-General saw no administrative objection to the political and legal duties being discharged as in the past by the regular organs of the League. On the other hand, he emphasised the fact that the humanitarian work involved various day-to-day problems of application which were hardly compatible with the normal work of the Secretariat.

In the Inter-Governmental Commission, several Governments and the representatives of the refugees themselves strongly urged that the Secretariat should continue to supervise the legal protection of the refugees. The Inter-Governmental Commission gave a definite decision in favour of a division of duties, and it proposed to entrust the humanitarian side of the work for the protection of refugees to an international office with headquarters at Geneva and placed under the direction of the League of Nations, on the basis of the principles of Article 24 of the Covenant.

The Sixth Committee also agreed with the principle of the division of duties on the lines indicated by the Inter-Governmental Advisory Commission. However, before taking the responsibility of recommending the Assembly to adopt this solution, it instructed five of its members, formed into a Sub-Committee, to investigate more closely the conditions under which the proposed office would be constituted and would work.

In accordance with the instructions received from the Sixth Committee, the Sub-Committee devoted its attention, in the first place, to examining the possible consequences of distinguishing, in practice, between the aspects of refugee work which have hitherto been combined. It was anxious to obtain all authoritative opinions on this subject. The inquiry which it undertook has led to the following conclusions:

- (1) The reorganisation of the work as contemplated by the Secretary-General and the Advisory Commission is possible and could be easily carried out.
- (2) No new burden will be placed on the League of Nations by this reorganisation. As the Secretary-General has stated that he is in a position to carry on the legal part of the refugee work without supplementary credits, the sums allocated by the Assembly up to the present for the protection of refugees will be sufficient to establish the International Office and to provide for its working.
- (3) The possible disadvantages of dividing up the Refugees Service can, in practice, be avoided. In countries which have requested that the delegates of the League of Nations should be retained for the legal protection of refugees, there is nothing to prevent the League giving the necessary authorisation to the correspondents of the International Office; the present position will therefore not be changed. In other countries the correspondents of the office will have to keep in close touch with the national authorities in charge of refugees questions; in order to facilitate this co-operation, the office will be requested to appoint, whenever possible, a national official as its correspondent in each of the countries concerned.

On all these points the Sixth Committee entirely endorses its Sub-Committee's conclusions.

Secondly, the Sub-Committee endeavoured to ascertain what the statutes of the future International Office should be. It was of opinion that the framing of these statutes was a technical matter which should be left to experts. The Sixth Committee accepts this view.

It therefore thought that the best course to adopt would be to recommend the Assembly to instruct a person distinguished for his legal knowledge and enjoying high international authority to frame draft statutes on the general lines indicated by the Inter-Governmental Advisory Commission for Refugees in its report to the Assembly. It considered that no one was better qualified in all respects to act as expert, and later as Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Office, than M. Max Huber, President of the International Red Cross Committee and member and former President of the Permanent Court of International Justice. With M. Huber's consent, the Committee proposes his name to the Assembly.

In order to avoid postponing the final constitution of the office until next year, the Assembly might instruct the Council of the League to consider the draft which M. Huber will submit to it and to put the statutes into force.

The guiding principles indicated by the Advisory Commission are, moreover, sufficiently precise to enable the character of the office and the nature of its work to be very clearly determined. The International Office, while attached to the League of Nations, which will have established it, by the grant that it receives and by the obligation to lay its accounts, together with an annual report, before the League, will yet enjoy that freedom of action and independence which are indispensable for carrying out the very complicated relief work entrusted to it. Administered by a body in which the Governments, the Secretariat of the League, the International Labour Office and the private refugee organisations are represented, it will combine the work of all the authorities interested. It will be a body regulating the work on behalf of the refugees in the various countries. Its principal duty will be to co-ordinate this work and to facilitate relations between the different authorities.

In order to accomplish its task more readily, it may maintain correspondents in the various countries interested in the refugee question. However, for reasons which have been indicated above, it will be asked to entrust these duties in each country to a national official nominated by the Government. This method will possess the further advantage of keeping down the general expenses of the office.

The budget to ensure the continuation of the relief work and the work of finding employment for the refugees will consist, primarily, of the funds mentioned on page 8 of the Secretary-General's report: proceeds of the sale of Nansen stamps, recovery of advances, contributions from associations and private persons. Generally speaking, the International Office will take over all the assets and all the liabilities of the League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

It seems also reasonable and desirable that the "private fund" collected by Dr. Nansen should be paid over to the International Office.

The Assembly will obviously desire to grant the customary notice and compensation to officials who at present form part of the League of Nations Refugee Service, in so far as the International Office cannot make use of their services.

As the International Office is to take the place of the present Refugee Service and the League of Nations, it will be for the office itself to decide whether, as has been suggested, an appeal should be made, in memory of Dr. Nansen, to private charity with a view to obtaining additional funds from

that source. The Committee therefore has not thought it desirable to ask the Assembly to express any opinion on this point, nor on the advisability of a special appeal on behalf of refugee children, the generous intention of which appeal it nevertheless appreciates.

Apart from the question of the reorganisation of the Refugee Service, the Committee examined the various points to which the Inter-Governmental Commission directed the Assembly's attention.

It feels called upon to indicate to the Assembly the importance of again recommending the Governments that have not yet adopted the Nansen stamp system to do so now, as the general extension of this system would increase the funds at the disposal of the International Office, will thereby add to its means of action, and will in this way hasten the final settlement of the refugee work.

It also feels the greatest sympathy for the Greek Government's position in regard to the refugees as related by that Government, and it draws the attention of the office in advance to the measures necessitated by this state of affairs.

As regards the various recommendations of the Inter-Governmental Advisory Commission which relate to the application of the Inter-Governmental Arrangements and the position of disabled ex-service men, it suggests that the Assembly should ask the Council to instruct the Secretary-General to forward these recommendations to the Governments concerned.

Now that the work for the protection of the refugees is being reorganised, the Committee cannot avoid a reference to the past. It has desired to pay a last tribute to the man who created and inspired this undertaking. With this homage to the memory of Dr. Nansen, it associates those who assisted him and who are now continuing his work, and it recommends that the future International Office should make use of their experience and devotion, and thus successfully carry through an undertaking which reflects the greatest honour on the League of Nations and on mankind.

ANNEX XVII.—*Report submitted by the Sixth Committee to the Assembly on Slavery.*

The Sixth Committee had before it this year two separate reports on the question of slavery. First, there was the report which, under the resolution of 25th September 1926, the Council regularly submits to the Assembly, and which embodies the information communicated by the Governments of the States signatories of the Convention of 1926 regarding the progressive abolition of slavery and conditions analogous thereto. The information forwarded by the Council this year came from the Governments of Abyssinia, Persia, Portugal and the Sudan.

Secondly, the Committee has considered the Secretary-General's report, drawn up in accordance with its resolution of 21st September 1929, on the basis of the communications received from 48 Governments. This Assembly resolution of 21st September 1929 was as follows :—

“The Assembly :

“Being extremely anxious to achieve the complete and final abolition of slavery and of the slave trade ;

“Considering the importance, in order to attain these results, of the general ratification of the Convention on Slavery ;

“Having considered the British Government's proposal for the creation of a new Temporary Commission on Slavery ;

“Being of opinion that an urgent appeal should first be addressed to the States which have not already done so to ratify or accede to the Convention on Slavery, and that it is necessary, above all, to collect information on the present position of the question ;

“Postpones, therefore, further consideration of the British Government's proposal ;

“Urgently requests the States which have not already done so to ratify or accede to the Convention of 25th September 1926, relative to slavery ;

“Instructs the Secretary-General to collect from the States Members of the League, and from those non-Member States which are parties to the Convention, all possible information on the present position of slavery, and to report to the next Assembly.”

The Sixth Committee noted that the number of ratifications or definite accessions to the Slavery Convention of 25th September 1926 had increased since the last session of the Assembly from 29 to 34. It also placed on record the declarations of several Governments, which, although they have not yet actually ratified or acceded, are taking the necessary steps to do so shortly.

The Committee was asked by the British Delegation to consider a proposal for the establishment of a Permanent Slavery Commission, with a permanent office. In the view of the British Delegation, the difficulties which still stand in the way of the abolition of slavery and the slave trade would be considerably reduced by the establishment of a permanent organisation, placed under the authority of the League, for the purpose of collecting reliable information as to the present position in regard to slavery. The Commission which the British Delegation desired to have established was to examine the communications received from the States signatories of the Convention of 1926, in accordance with Article 7 of that Convention, together with confidential reports drawn up by the permanent office to be attached to it. The Commission was to be empowered to request States, whether parties to the Slavery Convention or not, to furnish it with any information and explanations it might desire and, with the consent of the Governments concerned, to conduct local inquiries.

The British Delegation justified its proposal on the ground that the methods hitherto followed—more especially the procedure on which the resolution of 21st September 1929 was based—have neither yielded adequate information regarding slavery nor enabled any judgment to be formed of the value of the information collected.

This proposal encountered objections from several delegations. Some of them advanced reasons of principle based on the idea of the sovereignty of States, which, in their view, precluded the establishment of any supervisory body. Other delegations preferred not to express any definite opinion on the British proposal, but thought it premature. They took the view that it was too early to condemn the procedure introduced by the Assembly resolution of 21st September 1929.

The Liberian Delegation put forward a counter-proposal that the Assembly should make a recommendation calling upon the Governments concerned to examine, on their own initiative and by their own decision, the possibility of laying the matter before an international commission of

inquiry, as was done by the Liberian Government with the support of the Council of the League of Nations.

In view of the differences of opinion which were revealed in regard to the proposal laid before it by the British Delegation, the Sixth Committee set up a Sub-Committee consisting of the delegates of Abyssinia, Belgium, the British Empire, France, India, Italy, Liberia, the Netherlands, Portugal, Siam and Spain, to find an agreed solution.

In its report to the Committee, the Sub-Committee of Experts explained that it had, in the first place, examined the proposal contained in the memorandum submitted to the Committee by the Delegation of the British Empire. That proposal was rejected by the majority of the members of the Sub-Committee. The Sub-Committee then considered two fresh alternative proposals from its British member—one to the effect that the Temporary Slavery Commission should be revived, and the other that an advisory Committee of Experts should be established, which could report to the Council. The first of these proposals was supported by the representatives of Spain and India, and the second by those of Siam and India. The Italian delegate, on the other hand, had suggested that the Council should appoint a Committee of three of its members, who would deal more specially with the question of slavery. The member for Liberia proposed the appointment of a special committee of the Sixth Committee, which should be instructed each year to examine the results obtained by the enforcement of the Anti-Slavery Convention. The member for Abyssinia was opposed to any new mode of procedure, and desired the enforcement, pure and simple, of the Anti-Slavery Convention. The Sub-Committee also examined a proposal put forward by its French member, arising, as did the Italian proposal, from the desire to meet the views of the British member, to the effect that the Council should be requested, in the event of the official information collected proving insufficient, to appoint three experts, nationals of colonial Powers, to go through and examine on their own responsibility the information referred to them. The conclusions—which would be confidential—of the report of the experts could be consulted by the Members of the League of Nations, who would have the option of referring them on their responsibility to the Council, and that body would itself discuss these conclusions at the end of six months from the date of notification to the States concerned.

Lastly, the Portuguese member of the Sub-Committee, supported by his Italian and Belgian colleagues, suggested that the results of the present procedure should not be judged for another year; that the consideration of any changes in this procedure should be postponed; and that the States Members of the League and non-Member States should be invited to supplement the information they have already given by furnishing all such particulars as may assist the Assembly to form an idea, not only of the conditions that prevail in their own territories, but also on the present general position in regard to slavery.

The French and British members of the Sub-Committee for a long time endeavoured to bring their points of view into harmony; but, these efforts having failed, the Sub-Committee voted in turn on the last proposal of the British member and on the proposals submitted by the French and Portuguese members respectively.

The draft resolution submitted by the Portuguese member was eventually adopted by a majority vote. The delegates of Abyssinia, Belgium, France, Italy, Liberia, the Netherlands and Portugal voted for this draft resolution; the delegates of the British Empire, India and Spain voted against; the delegate of Siam abstained.

When the text of the resolution adopted by the majority of the Sub-Committee was submitted to the Sixth Committee, the British delegate expressed his disappointment at the failure of his proposal, and reserved the right to reopen the question in the Assembly. The Siamese Delegation stated that, having abstained from voting in the Sub-Committee, it would also abstain in the Committee. The Spanish Delegation expressed the hope that the Assembly would be in a position next year to take more effective steps for the abolition of slavery. The Portuguese Delegation called the Committee's attention to the fact that the Assembly would expose itself to justifiable criticism if it altered a procedure which it had itself introduced without waiting to see the results, and also observed that the Assembly would cast discredit on the work of the League if it implicitly condemned the Slavery Convention only four years after it had been drawn up. The French Delegation pointed out that it had made every effort to meet the views of the British Delegation. The reason why it had agreed to the proposal for a temporary postponement was that it attached great importance to the question, and feared that a hasty decision introducing an insufficiently definite procedure would jeopardise the success of the work.

The draft resolution submitted by the majority of the Sub-Committee was adopted by the Sixth Committee by eleven votes to six and one abstention.

APPENDIX III.

Certain Speeches delivered by Members of the Indian Delegation at the Eleventh Assembly.

ANNEX I.—*Speech by Lieut.-General His Highness the Mahuraja of Bikaner, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., K.C.B., A.D.C., LL.D., in the Assembly on the 16th September 1930.*

The speech with which this discussion opened set in me unforgettable memories astir. For, as a signatory to the Treaty of Versailles, I shared with my old friend, Sir Robert Borden, the historic privilege of assisting at the birth of the League of Nations. When I came to the Assembly six years later it was as the representative of the special interests of "Indian India," as distinct from British India—those Indian States which possess their own internal sovereignty and comprise the territories of the Ruling Princes of India, who rule over some 700,000 square miles and some 72,000,000 subjects—in other words, about a third of the vastness of India and about a fourth of her teeming people. To-day, I have the honour to stand here as the Leader of the Indian Delegation, thus symbolising the unity of India in its adherence to the League.

To the emphasis which has been laid throughout this discussion on the need for making world peace impregnable, India would have me add hers. The very diversity in which speech after speech has developed this theme is evidence of the intensity of the sentiment that inspires us. Our common purpose is to seek peace and ensure it, and no array of difficulties, however great, must be allowed to dishearten us. Yet it was but a few years back that mankind still believed that glory was to be won through war. Happily, out of evil has come good, and the civilised world, torn by the suffering of those long years of war, is changing its whole outlook. And as I listened to the speech of my gallant friend, General Hertzog, I could not help calling back to my mind what I myself said here six years ago: it is not among the ranks of those who have borne the burden of the fight that fire-eaters are usually to be found; for soldiers, after all, are the best judges of the horrors of war, the keenest to discern where its dangers lurk, the most impressive advocates of peace. I myself am a soldier; I am descended from an ancient fighting stock from amongst the martial races of India; I have known war and its horrors. And there is to-day none who more deeply desires to see the whole force of our being dedicated to the service of peace.

In that service much has recently been done; witness the Pact of Paris, the Optional Clause, the London Naval Treaty, to all of which India has adhered in that devotion to the cause of peace with which she will set herself to the examination of the General Act at the forthcoming Imperial Conference.

But the greatest task of all lies ahead. If the world is to be saved from the devastation of another war, whose horrors would assuredly exceed the worst horrors it has known, there must be a limitation of armament, real, universal, substantial. That there can be no effective security without such limitation no one knows better than the soldier. No one knows better than the soldier the practical difficulties which stand in the way. But these we must face and surmount. And though India has special difficulties of her own and special need for vigilant preparedness along her vast frontiers, peopled as they are by warlike tribes against whom the machinery of the League affords no protection, she is ready to collaborate in all schemes of disarmament compatible with her security. For the will to peace inspires, and ever will inspire, her. Should anyone doubt it, let him read her philosophy, with its embodiment of the most complete and consistent code of pacifism in the world.

With such ideals, India cannot but be friendly to the underlying aims of that European co-operation of which Monsieur Briand gave so eloquent an exposition the other day. Nevertheless, may a word of warning come without offence, and yet not without force, from the East? Monsieur Briand disarmed criticism, it is true, by disclaiming all idea of organising Europe in a spirit of antagonism to the outside world. Indeed, he described his plan as one of those regional agreements which, so far from impairing, are designed to fulfil the purpose of the Covenant. But is there not a danger in these early years of the League that a plan for the closer union of Europe may give rise to misapprehensions outside Europe itself as running counter to the basic conception of the Covenant that the League exists, not for Europe, not for Asia, but for the world? Any impression that Europe, better organised industrially, thanks to its mastery of the applied sciences, than most of the old, and some of the young, non-European countries, is seeking to consolidate its industrial position to the detriment—however unintended—of less fortunate parts of the world might conceivably lead to consequences which no Member of the League could desire. It was indeed a happy instinct that prompted Monsieur Briand to refer the whole question to the League, so that not merely Europe, but all Members of the League might be given an opportunity for considering how far the League machinery could fitly be adapted to the treatment of such regional problems. And does not the interdependence of the various countries of the world, and the organic connection between industry and agriculture, point insistently to the desirability of making all international co-operation in the economic sphere not sectional or regional, but, so far as possible, world-wide? For what affects one part of the world to-day must react sooner or later upon others. And what affects industry must ultimately react upon agriculture. Thus, although industry was the first to feel the effects of post-war depression, agriculture is feeling it now, and in its turn is depressing industry still further. The depression of agriculture and the depression of industry are indeed organically allied problems, and embrace the whole world between them. Hence, what seems to me at any rate needed is for the technical organisations of the League to investigate the means whereby agriculture and industry alike can now be rescued and safeguarded hereafter against a recurrence of this world-wide depression. And although I myself speak here with the diffidence of a layman, I hope that the Indian Delegation will be able to make concrete suggestions to this end in committee.

Let no one misunderstand the tenor of my remarks. Smooth words come easily enough to the lips, but, without sympathetic criticism—where criticism is needed—there can be no progress. One and all, we are loyal to the League; of that our presence here to-day is evidence. But it would be a poor sort of loyalty that fought shy of fearless introspection. It is not enough for us to serve the League blindly. We must serve it with that loyalty that comes of clear-sighted courage.

**ANNEX II.—Speech by Sir J. C. Coyajee in the Second Committee on 19th September 1930,
on the resolution advocating the Study of the Economic Depression.**

It has been well remarked that if during the first decade of the League's work political problems have enjoyed the pride of place, in the second decade it will be the economic aspect of that work which will be coming to the fore. Indeed, the world-wide economic depression is so grave at present and so threatening for the future that it is bound to enforce a new initiative on the League; for there can be no question that the present depression is equally as regards its range, its causes and its possible remedies a world problem. The only alternatives before the world are co-operation or chaos. The world has had ample experience of the great evils caused by the long depression which marked the seventies and eighties of the last century, and yet compared to the present depression that of the last century was of a simple character, being due in the main to monetary causes. The problem which faces us at present is a far more complicated and abnormal one. Any solution of it must be based upon the co-ordination of studies in many countries and will require a great and effective international effort. We cannot depend on any work which is unco-ordinated, of different standards in different countries or based on inadequate and geographically unequal information. No problem can be of greater importance for the economic prosperity of the world in the years ahead of us. Any effective work to solve this great problem is best prosecuted under the auspices of this League, for then alone both the procedure and the results can command the necessary and general confidence. Psychological causes are important factors in all depressions, and the dispelling of that undue diffidence which has been intensifying the present depression can only be achieved under the aegis of a body like the League. A symptom of such exaggerated diffidence is the hoarding of currency and of gold which has been going on in some countries; and a powerful impulse is needed to counteract this want of confidence. But not only has the *morale* and confidence of the business world to be restored, but production has to be guided aright. That task of guidance will be best performed if, under the auspices of the League, representative experts compile and give to the world an early and continuous presentation of the salient features both of the demand and of the supply side of the leading staples. In various quarters, I am aware, some work of the sort is being done already, but it is only the work of representative experts which can command full confidence and it is their inferences and forecasts based on such figures which can rightly guide producers. In the absence of such reliable and definitive guides to the tendencies in the economic situation there has been a great waste of resource in national efforts to tackle the problem either by way of restricting production in individual countries or by attempts to maintain prices locally. All such efforts need to be co-ordinated if they are to be successful, and further they are to be based upon most reliable statistics of world production and demand.

Such a proposal as is indicated above might be launched by a resolution which I have already moved.

It will have been noted that in framing the resolution I have attached an equal importance to the study of the agricultural and the industrial aspects of the depression. As a representative of a great agricultural country like India, I would beg leave to emphasise the important bearing of the amelioration or solution of the present agricultural depression upon the prosperity of the manufacturing countries of the world. Generally speaking, economists are agreed that variations in the yield of crops in agricultural countries and the consequent changes in the fortunes of such countries have a notable causal efficiency in determining the range of industrial fluctuations; indeed, some authorities have gone so far as to claim for the former the sole causal efficacy as regards the success of the great manufacturing centres. The experience of the last decade or two have enriched economic experience and theory; and we can now justly emphasise in this connection, besides the changes in the volume of agricultural production, any alterations in the relative price commanded by it in terms of industrial products. Any great disparity of agricultural and manufacturing prices to the disadvantage of the former thus implies a tendency to a general depression extending even to manufactures. Since, then, the prosperity of agriculture is an important cause as well as precursor and the *avant courrier* of manufacturing progress, it is obviously in the highest interest of the industrial countries to seek an early solution of the problem of our present agricultural depression.

If the League and the world are to find a solution of the present agricultural depression it has to be attempted upon perfectly general lines and not with reference to the special conditions of one or more groups of countries. A procedure which sought to solve the problems of some countries and disregarded others would be alien to the principle on which the League is founded, and it would not afford adequate relief to the industrial countries of Europe. In the main the largest agricultural countries with considerable potentialities of extension of agriculture in future lie beyond the limits of Europe. It is in the interests of the industrial countries of Europe themselves to study and investigate, before adopting any particular line of policy, the relative importance of the different agricultural countries as potential sources of demand for manufactures and as sources of supply of agricultural products at reasonable prices. The agricultural countries whose prosperity will be most advantageous to the manufacturing countries are, in fact, those which have large capacities of extension of production without a great resulting rise of prices; to put it in economic language, they are the countries with a considerable "elasticity of supply." It is fairly obvious that such agricultural countries are to be found, generally speaking, outside the limits of Europe. It is, therefore, certainly not in the interests of the manufacturing countries themselves as a whole to resort to any policy of which the scope is limited to Europe, and which is of a discriminatory character.

Might I add that the resolution on this topic seems to be rather inconsistent, since in the first section it speaks of co-operation between the agricultural countries of Europe and those overseas, while in the last section the preference is kept for European countries.

In the matter of policy regarding and interpretation of the most-favoured-nation clause, we are working here for a new orientation of vision and of endeavour, and I beg permission to describe the position of my country with regard to the problem of most-favoured-nation treatment both in the past and under present conditions. As has been well observed, it requires more ingenuity of mind to explain why the more liberal and unconditional form of the clause should ever have been abandoned once it had been discovered, than why it was originally invented. As a matter of history the unconditional form of the clause was almost universally adopted after the sixties of the last century; but later on there was a revulsion against that interpretation for various reasons. India, however, like Great Britain, never shared in that revulsion, and, in the main, it might be said to have anticipated in its practice those enlightened principles regarding the most-favoured-nation clause to which we are now working up. It can, therefore, accept the model

formula which the Economic Committee has drafted so carefully; for in the main it states the general principles already adopted by India. Further, we regard most-favoured-nation treatment as a principle essential to satisfactory international relations in economic matters, and we consider that no State is justified in demanding any other consideration for grant of unconditional most-favoured-nation treatment than acceptance of such treatment in return. We can therefore agree to the unconditional and unrestricted character of the clause.

Similarly, in the light of its traditions of liberalism, India can agree to the principles laid down by the Economic Committee with regard to the field of application of the clause which extends to prohibitions of import and export as well as to customs duties. We can also accept the distinction drawn by the Committee between active and passive trade. With regard to the character of goods, also, India grants most-favoured-nation treatment to all States without exception; and consequently it is not concerned with the difficulties discussed in the Committee's report.

In conclusion, something might be said regarding the limitations on and reservations regarding the clause. And first we notice the relations between bilateral agreements based on the most-favoured-nation clause and economic plurilateral conventions. Faithful to its principles in the matter, India would not ordinarily refuse benefits of a convention signed by it to a non-signatory State with which it is on most-favoured-nation terms. That is in accordance with our traditions. We recognise, however, that it is open to other States to revise their bilateral agreements so as to reserve a right to refuse benefits of plurilateral conventions to non-signatories. But we consider, firstly, that such a reservation should be expressed in bilateral agreements and not introduced as a clause in plurilateral conventions; secondly, that the reservation can only apply to future plurilateral conventions and should not apply in cases where a non-signatory is prepared to exchange all or some benefits and liabilities of convention with the signatory to the latter's satisfaction. In other respects we accept the reservations stated in the report of the Economic Committee.

But I must express my dissent from and opposition to the systems of customs quotas and specialisation which might operate in such a way as to nullify, at least partially, the generality of the most-favoured-nation clause; and so far I am in hearty agreement with the delegation of Denmark. Quotas to a great extent imply dispositions in their manipulation and their calculation and manipulation affords loopholes. The delegate from Denmark has done a great service by emphasising the adverse possibilities of restrictions and control exercised in the name of rationalisation. Even the exigencies of a depression are no justification for reducing the scope of the most-favoured-nation clause and tampering with its integrity.

Alike in the presentation of the formula of the most-favoured-nation clause and in the recognition of reservations and limitations to it, one great principle has to be borne in mind. The wider and more unconditional the form given to the most-favoured-nation clause the less will be the differentiation between countries, with the result that the number of most-favoured-nation treaties will increase and a larger number of countries will be linked by treaties. That is the judgment of recognised economic experts and upon that basis we shall do well to erect our structure of most-favoured-nation treatment. Let us not obscure the clear-cut outlines of the clause by modifications adapted to every economic fluctuation—modifications of which the limits we cannot foresee. A mutilated most-favoured-nation clause will be of poor service for liberalising the commercial policy of the world.

ANNEX III.—Speech of Sir J. C. Coyajee in the Second Committee on the 20th September 1930 on the Most-Favoured-Nation Clause.

Our Chairman has well observed this morning that there is going to be an important controversy relating to the most-favoured-nation policy. In dealing with this controversy we should not forget the work and recommendations of the World Economic Conference of 1927. We cannot keep apart considerations relating to the general commercial policy recommended by it, namely, that of the breaking down of the barriers unduly hampering trade and those regarding the most-favoured-nation policy. The controversy referred to by our Chairman can be briefly summarised thus. On the one hand, the unconditional form of the most-favoured-nation clause leads to an automatic distribution of advantages and to a greater approximation in the tariff levels of a number of countries. The potential disadvantage alleged is that some countries' reluctance to join the commercial agreements might be increased. These considerations have to be balanced against each other. There is, however, much authority and experience behind the view that the existence of a considerable differentiation in tariff treatment is even more hurtful to general trade than the absolute height of tariffs.

The danger of making limitations to the most-favoured-nation clause is that the system of reservations may develop into a fine art, and be easily carried too far. The League must prize the clause as a compass by which to steer its course, and it would scarcely be judicious to throw that compass overboard in the name of "opportunism."

Perhaps I may be permitted to say a word regarding the Warsaw resolutions. The present agricultural crisis has been, by one of the speakers, compared to other crises, but I submit that it has a special character, for it is in a great measure due to the extension of production in some tropical countries and in relatively new agricultural countries. Thus the area under crops in Canada, Argentina, and Australia has increased by perhaps 200 per cent. since the year 1900. Hence the general complaints of dumping and of the decline of prices. In effect, production has been outrunning consumption, and local agreements cannot remedy this state of affairs. Consumption can be stimulated effectively only by raising the standard of living all over the world. That is quite beyond the power of local agreements such as the one before us. What is wanted is a comprehensive policy to achieve that end.

Is the present occasion a proper one for this Committee to decide that the League should embark upon work in execution of the resolutions of the Warsaw Conference? We have only just created a Committee to consider as a general question the means by which economic problems of exclusively European concern can be dealt with within the framework and through the organisation of the League. It seems to me that by adopting any positive resolution with reference to such particular proposals as the present, we may be prejudicing the solution of the general question, and creating a precedent the implications of which we cannot at present see. It seems to me the more proper and correct course to defer any decision on our part with regard to the Warsaw resolutions, at least until the report of the Committee on European Union is ready.

The non-European countries can have no possible objection to the conclusion of any agreements for preference between groups of European countries upon economic topics, but it is a different matter entirely when such agreements are proposed to be made through the instrumentality and under the auspices of the League, which is necessarily concerned with world affairs and policies. In this matter I agree entirely with the views so ably expressed by the Austrian delegate.

**ANNEX IV.—Speech by Sir D. P. Sarvadikary in the Second Committee
on 18th September 1930, on the Health Organisation.**

I much appreciate your kindness in calling upon me to speak immediately after Miss Lawrence has presented her interesting report, because it refers to a great many things of importance vitally affecting India.

You are well advised, with the assent of the Committee, in taking up the question of health first, because, according to our Scriptures, health is the bedrock and foundation of all righteousness, in the cause of which the League is thriving.

"Sharirang madyaing khalu dharma sadhanam" sang our poet and preached our teacher. No portion of national duties can be efficiently discharged if the health of the people concerned is not adequately taken care of. In ancient India health was considered as an integral part of religion and righteousness. What was ignorantly considered and characterised as meaningless ritual was largely applied to and intended for building up the health of the body politic. We built up systems of medicine and hygiene that have not been equalled in ancient or modern times and the revival of which in their many phases along with systems like Unani would be a great contribution to the solution of the health problems of the world. Fallen as we are on degenerate days, this ancient glory has departed from the land, but we are not behindhand in cultivating and profiting by modern learning and latter-day research. In aid of the advancement of this new development the East now looks Westward and is proportionately benefiting, and hopes to benefit more.

In China and Greece admirable work has been done under the auspices of the League at the invitation of the Governments concerned, and our Government in India has not been behindhand in profiting so far as it may by the health activities of the League. The list of ailments affecting us would fill a volume, and I must not tire you out with an enumeration of our woes, and references to malaria, cholera, smallpox, plague, kalazar, hookworm and various maladies, some of which we owe to our contact with the West, such as yellow fever and sleeping sickness. Glad and assured am I to feel and say that the Government is mindful of the interests of the situation and is doing what it can with its resources for improvement of our condition. Miss Lawrence's woeful tale about ungarnered harvests in the field in the wake of unhealthiness applies nowhere more vigorously than to India. There, unfortunately, it is not all a case of lack of experience; it is more a case of lack of resources. As has been powerfully pointed out by Miss Lawrence, the health question is by no means isolated, but is largely an economic question. If the staying power of the Indian ryot, who is often obliged to sell his cattle and eat up his seed, was anything like that in European countries, the resistance to diseases would have been more effective, but it is useless to refer to these woeful matters, so far as they have no international bearing. To the many terrific terms in which Science delights, malariology has now been added. We are doing some good work there; in this direction the work of mighty workers like Sir Leonard Rogers and Rai Bahadur Gopal Chatterjee are well known to those interested in malaria. We look forward to application of the results of research, with the assistance of the suggestions and recommendations that the League Malaria Commission, that recently visited India, will soon give us in their published report. I must take this opportunity of thanking the League authorities for the kindness with which our experts, like General Graham and Colonel Christophers, were received and the facilities with which they were provided. Our Government hopes that the assistance that these officers were able to give to your Malaria Commission was helpful. I rejoice that General Graham has been appointed a member of the new Health Committee. We should like also to take the opportunity of thanking the Dutch Government for the facilities and hospitality that were afforded to our officers in the Far East Conference, where great results were achieved. It is our misfortune, and I have to refer to it with regret, that it is not possible for General Graham to come and take part in the work of the Health Committee at the end of this month, because of his previous commitments in Bangkok, Singapore and Manila. It would be a great assistance to us in India and to all Far Eastern countries if the programme of the Health Committee and the connected organisations could be so framed that our officers could make it convenient to come and assist in the deliberations and profit by them. I am fully aware of the other necessities and obligations of the situation, and do not for a moment desire to under-estimate or minimise them, but for the advancement of convenient, regular and co-ordinated work it is of the utmost importance that the convenience of most of the parties concerned should be consulted. I am exceedingly sorry that it will not be possible for our officers to profit by the deliberations of the League in the near future. However, I hope in connection with the Singapore Institution and the Malaria Conference, the Leprosy Conference and other Conferences, our officers will be able to make up for what they have lost owing to their inability to attend the Geneva meeting of the Health Committee.

I recall with satisfaction the reference that the Honourable Sir Muhammad Habibullah, Leader of the Indian Delegation last year, made to the maternity and child welfare work of the League. In India we are attempting to do work in these directions on modern lines and many child welfare and maternity welfare societies have been established and are at work under the auspices and patronage of our Viceroys, our Governors and their wives, and other distinguished officials and non-officials. Here again, I should like to remind you that India is not breaking new ground. The mother to them is an incarnation of the divinity, and the child God is an ideal of some of the most important sections of the Hindu community. The welfare of the mother and the child and also the cow have always been integral parts of Hindu faith, and if they have not been living up to their ideals in recent time the reason is again lack of economic and material resources. Your Child Welfare Committee may wisely preach the need of the mother having good food and the child having abundant milk, but where they are to come from are problems which India has yet to solve. Incidentally, I may refer to various kinds of infant food that are being imported from Europe and America to make up for the insufficiency of the milk supply. It has long been a question as to what the quality and the nutritive value of many of these articles of food are. If and when the child welfare question is taken up in right earnest there is a field

of enquiry which has not been thought of so far, but in which useful work may be done. If child welfare is to depend on artificial foods in the absence of an adequate supply of cow's milk and of mother's milk when the mother is suffering from lack of nutrition herself, as I am sure it must, it is of the utmost importance that standardised food at a reasonable cost should be made available for the purpose of the countries where it is needed. This reminds me of the need for enquiry regarding the nutritive value of food in other directions and of the defects that are connected with food that rice-eating countries have largely to depend upon. The rice question, connected with which is the question of beri-beri, is a very important one, not only from the point of view of India, but also of China, Japan and other rice consuming countries as well as of the Colonies into which the Indian has found his way. Some important work in this direction has been done in India, but not enough. It is, therefore, of importance for the League authorities to consider whether enquiry in this direction may not be usefully taken up early in view of its world-wide character. India's co-operation in any scheme of investigation may be relied upon.

Another direction in which League health activities might be directed is the question of the machinery of cholera infection, regarding which some interesting experiments and enquiries have been going on. This is also not purely an Indian question, but is a large world question, the solution of which would be for the benefit of the world at large.

Another question of similar importance is that of snake bite envenomation. Serum in regard to individual snakes have been found and are effective. The problem among some enquirers is as to whether it would not be possible to standardise that serum and make it applicable in as large a number of cases as possible. This is of very great importance in countries that have large sea-boards along which many deaths, supposed to be due to drowning, are beginning to be believed to be due to the bites of sea snakes, the character and extent of which is not yet known. I am not at all sure, therefore, that there are available materials which would help in immediate consideration of this question, but as a question with large possibilities it may be one that in time may be taken up.

In India we are about to start enquiries about yellow fever in the immediate future, and we are taking steps for the prevention of infection coming into the country. We are trying to tackle questions which, though possibly not world questions, yet have an important bearing on fevers of an infectious nature, like kalazar. But there is no time for us to go into details about these diseases, and we must confine ourselves as far as possible to questions of principle such as the League will deal with.

A very important view of League activities, particularly in China, is that of medical education. Fortunately enough, we are well equipped in India in this direction, though not on an adequate scale. We have had our differences with the British Council of Medical Education. These differences are on questions not so much of quality as of quantity; as in subjects like gynaecology and obstetrics we suffer from the insufficiency of the number of beds in our hospitals. However, we are soon hoping to compose these differences, and medical education in India under the allopathic system is proceeding apace on sound lines, but post-graduate subjects have to be conducted on a large scale in order to tackle the various important questions, some of which I have mentioned. The number of our medical colleges and schools and hospitals is inadequate, and we have not even one qualified allopathic practitioner to every 50,000 people. It has, therefore, been necessary to start kabiridi and homeopathic institutions under popular management, and they are doing exceedingly good work in bringing medical relief to the people under reasonable terms. Proving of drugs, as it is called, is about to be undertaken by qualified homeopaths, which will considerably contribute to the success of the system in India.

The interchange of health officers, and possibly of professors, later on, will be a great contribution towards the solution of the question in regard to malariology. Important work is done in centres like Rome, Hamburg and London, supplemented by practical demonstration in Spain, Italy and other countries suffering from malaria. We are hoping that it would not be impossible nor undesirable to have centres in India where research and application of the results of research can be conducted on the spot and questions affecting malaria, which is of such a widespread nature in India, determined; and in regard to the interchange of health officers an important element to consider and remember is that as many Indians should come as possible. We appreciate the work of European officers of India who come and benefit by this interchange, but when they retire from the country their experience is lost to it, and efforts should always be made to get as many Indians interested in the question as possible.

Not very long ago an unofficial but not informal Commission visited India to consider the question of syphilis and other connotated diseases which are of great importance from the medical as well as the sociological point of view. Good work was done but was not followed up. It is time that the question was again taken up in right earnest, particularly as it links up many nations of the world in connection with the question of traffic in women, which will be considered by another Committee. What contribution the League Health Committee can and proposes to make on the subject will be awaited with interest.

The Tropical Schools of Medicine are doing excellent work both in India and England, and the new school at Athens will be sure to add to the volume of that work. In this connection I desire particularly to mention the hospital at Port Said, where Indians passing through that port receive care and attention, as indeed do all the nationals having anything to do with that central port. Institutions of this kind are a great necessity and deserve well at the hands of the League authorities and of all Governments and peoples concerned. India's great hope is for the advancement of study connected with tropical diseases. For this purpose Calcutta has recently received considerable contributions, and to supplement this good work Calcutta expects that in the near future an endowment for the advancement of scientific studies will also be forthcoming. Without research in the sphere of science, circumscribed researches in relation to disease are not of great value, and the limited resources of the people and the Government of India make it of the utmost importance that the Rockefeller scientific endowment should be made available there. This has an intimate bearing on the study of health problems, and with the permission of the Committee I desire particularly to lay stress on this.

Health questions are many and vast and are of far-reaching consequences. The Indian scriptures are largely a code of health and our teachings are directed to promotion and promulgation of health ideals. In our degenerate days we have gone a long way from ideals, and these will have to be revived and reincarnated in view of modern ideas, particularly of organisation on a large scale. Health work is the least difficult and the most important of the work of the League, and the goodwill with which it has been started and inaugurated, if supplemented by the will to do good, will attain far-reaching world results which alone can guarantee the stability and effectiveness of the larger work of the League.

**ANNEX V.—Speech by Sir Denys Bray in the Third Committee on 20th September 1930
on the Draft Convention on Financial Assistance.**

The attitude of the Government of India was stated last year by Sir Muhammad Habibullah; but after what has fallen from you I feel that it would be as well for me to re-state it now.

That attitude is one of sympathy tempered with cautious reserve. Owing to her geographical position, India is unlikely to be concerned in the direct advantages which this Convention may provide. One or two speakers yesterday mentioned the possible need and not impossible difficulty of securing Parliamentary approval prior not only to ratification but even to signature; and it is felt by my Government that it may be not very easy to justify India's assumption of further commitments in view of the lack of direct advantages that she herself would get under the Convention. My Government, therefore, does not propose to sign at present; for India is always chary of signing unless the prospect of ratification is reasonably clear. Whether the Assembly will eventually give her approval to ratification it is hardly possible to foretell here and now. Matters might have been a little easier had the Committee been able to fall in with India's suggestion last year regarding the basis of the distribution of the guarantees. True, the modifications which were discussed yesterday to Article 7 would go some way to meet her point, but not the whole way, for India, as you know, is rather sore over what she conceives to be her excessive quota. Much would depend, moreover, on the degree of universality which the Convention is likely to secure. If the Convention failed to attract much support outside Europe, it seems possible that India would prefer to stand aloof. Should, however, the Convention attract support not merely in Europe but also in Asia and elsewhere, then it is hard to believe that India would not desire to collaborate in such a world-wide contribution to the movement towards the suppression of war.

**ANNEX VI.—Speech delivered by Mr. G. S. Bajpai in the Fourth Committee on
23rd September 1930.**

I must first express the regret of my delegation that owing to illness the leader of my delegation is unable to participate in this discussion, as he had wished.

Although perhaps the Committee of Thirteen, or *de facto* Committee of Twelve, have been overwhelmed already by the praise that has been bestowed upon them by speaker after speaker, they may yet bear the additional straw of our praise, which is genuine, and which takes due account of the extraordinary competence and promptitude with which they addressed themselves to a very difficult task.

In the course of the discussion references have been made, apologetic and regretful references sometimes, to the fact that the Committee of Thirteen did not reach unanimous conclusions. It seems to me that absence of unanimity is by no means an unhealthy sign; that occasionally it is desirable that the complacency which is born of unanimity should receive a jolt—certainly the complacency of inaction which some cynics say is the prevailing attitude in Geneva. The fact of the matter is that we see in the absence of unanimity in this discussion the possibility of our reaching conclusions which would be more in accordance with the true spirit and ideals of the League than if we had reached a colourless compromise in the Committee of Thirteen.

Now, the first question for us to consider is: What is the attitude of each delegation regarding what I might briefly describe as the character of the Secretariat? On that one point there has been no difference of opinion between the Majority and Minority Reports. Both are united in emphasising the necessity of everyone who comes to serve the League leaving national prejudices and predilections outside Geneva, to quote the language of Mr. Dalton. We of the Indian Delegation subscribe whole-heartedly to that proposition. We think that the only way in which you can ensure realisation of the ideals of the League is by a loyal, a single-minded, and unfailing devotion to and an impartial pursuit of the ideals of the League, and, hence, we fully appreciate the great emphasis that has been laid upon the desirability of everyone working in what is called the international spirit.

But if I may venture upon a criticism of the Report of the Committee of Thirteen, I would say that while they have laid a great deal of stress upon the international spirit, little emphasis—in fact, no emphasis at all—has been laid upon what is equally important, namely, an international outlook. You cannot really hope to reassure the various States Members of the League, especially those States Members who are remote from Europe, from the seat of the Assembly, and, therefore, perhaps at times apt to be forgotten, unless you give them a clear indication of so ordering the structure of the Secretariat as to ensure that the interests of the League will not be merely alert, but that they will also be comprehensive and broad-based. We feel that it really is a serious defect in the Report of the Committee of Thirteen that this aspect of the question has not been properly developed and properly emphasised.

Now, how are you going to achieve this broad-basing of the structure of the Secretariat, this removing, shall we say, of the predominance of material which—I use the phrase without any offence at all—may be said to be drawn from the nationals of the Great Powers? You are not going to achieve that object merely by crystallising, by hardening, by petrifying the constitution of the Secretariat as it is to-day. Certainly, there are parts of the Secretariat, the Second Division, the Third Division, where the nature of the duties does not render it so imperative that we should strive after a more equitable balance between the nationals of the various Members of the League; but when you get to the upper strata, that is to say, the directing staff—whether it be the Secretary-General, the Under Secretary-General, the Deputy Secretary-General, the Directors, or even the First Division, it seems to me that you cannot really, by introducing the principle of permanency, obtain the objective that you have in view; because no amount of permanence, no period of residence in Geneva, however prolonged, is going to evolve the international outlook. That international outlook would be the result only of a synthesis of the points of view of the various States Members of the League, and that will not be achieved, as I say, until the upper structure of the Secretariat is more representative than it is at the present moment. And, therefore, I feel that while the majority of the Committee of Thirteen have gone some way towards making the structure of the upper strata of the Secretariat more comprehensive, they have not gone far enough in that direction. We feel, of course, with the majority, that you have got to raise the number of Under Secretaries-General. I know that that proposal has been criticised on economic or on financial grounds. I will deal with that later, but what the Indian Delegation feel is that that, by itself, is not sufficient. You really have to take into consideration the composition of what is called the First

Division of the Secretariat. Now, it is perfectly true that if you are to secure an effective opening for men of ability in the lower ranks of the Secretariat, a proportion of the appointments in the First Division must be treated as permanent; but I do not myself see any reason why, in order to obtain the equally important objective—equally, that is, with the necessity or desirability of giving satisfaction to the legitimate aspirations of the members of the subordinate ranks of the Secretariat—the objective of widening the representation or the character of your superior division, you should not combine permanence with the principle of temporary contracts based on national rotation. That, I think, is the best way, and that is the suggestion which I would like the Committee to consider.

Turning now to another point, it may be said that it is impossible, consistently with the recommendation made by the majority, to do away with the principle of permanence as applied to existing posts; that all we can do at this stage is to ensure that new posts, as they are created, should be widely advertised, and that recruitment for them should be made more or less on the principle I have suggested. That would be an improvement, certainly, upon the suggestions contained in the Report of the majority, but I doubt very much whether that, again, would be quite adequate from the point of view I have put forward.

Reverting to the point regarding economy, I do not think that whatever other reproach may be laid against the Indian Delegation, the charge of reckless extravagance can be brought against us. Over and over again, ever since the inception of the League, our one objective and ceaseless effort has been to secure economy; but it seems to me that sometimes economy may be even more dangerous than reckless extravagance, and any measure of economy which is apt to leave a feeling of soreness or dissatisfaction in the various States Members of the League is likely not to achieve the objects we have in view, but perhaps seriously to retard the progress and the realisation of the aims and objects of the League. Last year I remember—mine was really a voice in the wilderness—that I pleaded for a certain economy in the budget of the Institute which deals with Intellectual Co-operation. Similarly, the Indian Delegation suggested economy in regard to the meeting of certain experts in Paris, I think it was to consider the status of foreigners. All those suggestions went by the board; now it seems to me that if the League really do not hesitate to swallow what I may call these camels there is no reason why it should strain at the gnat of an extra two or three hundred thousand francs that represent the cost of the proposals to increase the number of Under Secretaries-General made by the majority.

I leave this point, and pass on to the other two points under which the report may be classified, namely, the conditions of service and the direction of the Secretariat.

As regards the conditions of service, we quite realise that you would not ensure either the contentment or the efficiency, or for that matter the independence of the Secretariat as a whole, unless the principle of permanence were introduced, and therefore we are in favour of the principle of permanence, modified, of course, by what I have said in regard to the application of the principle of temporary contracts in regard to higher appointments, including the First Division.

The next recommendation relates to pensions, which again come under the terms service. I confess that, after careful perusal of the Report of the Committee of Thirteen and the draft pensions regulations that have been circulated, I, for one, am not convinced of the merits of the scheme of pensions as compared with the scheme of a provident fund. Perhaps, if we were to make a more generous contribution than the League is making at the present moment to the provident fund, it might be possible to secure the satisfaction of the existing members of the staff of the League as well as the element of elasticity which is essential, to my mind, to ensure the economical ordering of the affairs of the Secretariat. However, as far as I can make out, the consensus of opinion here is in favour of the pensions scheme, and, while reserving to ourselves the right to scrutinise points of detail as they come up for discussion, we shall do what we can to fall in with the views of the majority of the Committee.

The last point relates to what I consider to be main difference between the majority and the minority report—namely, as to whether the responsibility of the Secretary-General is to be diluted by associating with him a permanent committee or whether he is to be left fully responsible, as he is to-day, for the direction of the affairs of the Secretariat. We, in India, have borrowed a tradition which to my mind has worked with extraordinary success in England—namely, that affairs of such difficulty and delicacy are best regulated, not by rigid rule or by the creation of new machinery, but by the growth of convention.

If the minority had put forward the view that what was needed was the building up of a convention of frequent consultation with the Secretary-General and the other high officers of the League, we should undoubtedly have given our adhesion. I throw that suggestion out for the consideration of the Committee, that it is worth while stressing the desirability of building up such a convention. But to pass from that to the creation of a special *ad hoc* machinery is a proposal to which the Indian Delegation cannot give its support. That is all that at this stage of the discussion I have to say. As I made clear earlier in my remarks, we shall have suggestions to make on points of detail as the relevant chapters of the report are reached.

ANNEX VII.—Speech by Mr. Baipai in the Fourth Committee on the 25th September 1930.

We have a saying in the East that the position of those who stand between Heaven and—I will not use the other word—is not a particularly happy one. Mine, unfortunately, is a middle position in this debate. I find that the majority seem to have the position of the celestials as they seem to be likely to command the most support. Not merely is the minority merely a minority, but it is a feeble minority to-day, according to what my friend Count Bernstorff said. In the thesis which I developed the other day I asked that the legitimate aspirations of nationals of States Members of the League who have not the opportunity for service to-day that certain other more fortunate States Members have, should be given an opportunity of service by effective representation, by a system of reservation of posts, perhaps. When I came to the Committee to-day I took the opportunity of ascertaining privately the views of the Secretary-General on this point. Fortunately for me, the delegate from Sweden gave him an opportunity of expressing publicly the difficulties which he thought would beset any course that required a reservation of posts in the upper division to be filled on the principle of rotation. Being in my own country responsible for the administration of a Department, I know that it would not be wise for me to press my suggestion too far, because I like to be given a free hand in my Department, and I should be very reluctant indeed if the Secretary-General's hands were unduly tied as regards the services under his control. But it does seem

to me that it is only fair to those of us for whom I speak to-day, that the Committee should definitely understand that in future we expect, and we hope that it is a principle which the Secretary-General would find it possible to follow, that (a) new posts filled by indeterminate contracts and (b) temporary posts will be filled on the principle of giving, as I have said, to nationals not represented on the Secretariat of the League, not opportunities for greater power—I do not contend for greater power—but opportunities for greater service to the League.

*ANNEX VIII.—Speech by Mr. Bajpai in the Fourth Committee on the
26th September 1930.*

I am very reluctant, in the face of this crushing unanimity in support of the pensions scheme, to speak in any spirit of doubt or questioning at all, but unfortunately the explanation Madame Kluyver has just given does not resolve, with the completeness and conviction I should like, the doubts which still assail my mind. The first question—to which, unfortunately, there is no answer at all—is : Is the malaise which is attributed to the Secretariat—and I daresay there is strong foundation for the suggestion—due merely to the absence of a pensions scheme and the existence of a provident fund scheme, or is it due to the very exiguous character of the contribution made by the League to the provident fund? In other words, would not the raising of the League's contribution to the provident fund satisfy the staff of the Secretariat?

The second point which strikes me on a speedy examination of the papers is: Have we convinced ourselves that, consistently with our duty to the staff of the Secretariat, which is undoubtedly a very important duty, we have discharged our duty to the League, the duty of economy? Are we convinced that the scheme of pensions which has been propounded here, or, in principle, a pensions scheme, would be more economical than a provident fund?

The third point is this. We certainly have an obligation to the members of the staff, but we have also an obligation to the League itself. As far as I can see, from the administrative point of view there are certain objectionable features in a pensions scheme which enables a man after 10 years' service to leave the service of the League in order to find more lucrative employment elsewhere. In other words, we are, in effect, subsidising a scheme which enables an individual to make a convenience of the League, to get, shall we say, administrative experience here and thereafter seek a career elsewhere. It seems to me that when you have a mixed service system such as we have here, namely, indeterminate contracts and temporary contracts, it may, in the long run, from the administrative as well as the financial point of view, be better to work out a more generous scheme for a provident fund than a pensions scheme.

I thought it would be as well to state my doubts and my objections on the question of principle at this stage so that it may not be thought that the attitude of the Indian Delegation was one of unreasoning opposition to the pensions scheme. I want you to realise that there is, perhaps, some foundation, however slender it may be, of reasoning beneath it.

*ANNEX IX.—Speech by Mr. Bajpai in the Fourth Committee on the
26th September 1930.*

I do not pretend to have either the perspicacity or the financial genius of Mr. Hambro, who adds to these qualities a long experience of the Fourth Committee, to which I am completely new. But I think that all that he has said does not really dispose of the point which I have raised. He said that a provident fund is different from a pensions fund; that is evident even to my mean intelligence, but if it is suggested that a provident fund lacks the contributory element by the employer for old age or for the period of forced unemployment, I cannot agree. That contributory element is really supplied by the contribution which the employer—in this case the League—would make during the period of employment. With regard to economy, there is evidently a certain definiteness about the financial obligation attaching to a provident fund, whereas a pension scheme involves, to some extent, an indeterminate liability. However, I see that Mr. Hambro, after having given very careful consideration to the two rival schemes, has come to the conclusion that a pensions scheme is calculated to give greater satisfaction to the staff than the scheme of a provident fund. That authoritative statement has had great effect on my friend, M. Gallavresi. It may be that the cumulative authority of those around this table is infinitely superior to such experience as we have in India, but we have tried in India the system of a provident fund, not only for people on short-term engagements, but also for people who spend the whole of their career in India. We have been able to attract first-class experts to serve us in India for 25 or 30 years on the basis of a provident fund, and there is no reason why the same should not apply to officials of the League of Nations. There is no moral turpitude attaching to a provident fund. After all, the moral obligation consists in making provision for the period of retirement. The exact form of the contribution really does not involve any moral consideration, but is a question of financial and administrative convenience. I quite recognise that if the Committee were to pronounce itself in favour of the principle of pensions we should have to examine the details of this scheme, and I reserve to my delegation the right to consider these points of detail. But, not out of obstinacy or egotism, and solely in the interests of the League, I do contend that any sub-committee which hereafter examines the details of the pensions scheme should have freedom to consider the points raised in favour of a provident scheme, either exclusive of the other or combined with it.

*ANNEX X.—Speech by Mr. Bajpai in the Fourth Committee on the
29th September 1930.*

As someone pointed out in the course of the discussion, I quite recognise that the matter of the division of work in the Secretariat is entirely a matter for the Secretary-General, and with regard to that he is not liable to be challenged certainly by me. But in this particular case it is impossible to separate the question of the division of the work from the question of the increase of expenditure, and that is why I rise to speak again. My friend from Siam, for whose speeches and interventions I always have the greatest respect, referred to the great interest that the East takes in the social and opium questions.

That is perfectly true; and I hope it will not be said of my country that our interest in the work of the League as regards the traffic in opium has been a purely pious one, because we have agreed to suppress in the course of the next two years the whole of the growth of opium for exportation. This will probably cost us in revenue something like £8,000,000 a year. But that in itself, although it may be an indication of our generosity, would not justify our carrying generosity further still. The suggestion here is that the present section which deals with social questions and with traffic in opium should be divided into two. I took the precaution of ascertaining from the Secretary-General what the financial implication of that would be, and I understand that the financial implication of that will be the creation of an additional post of Director. Undoubtedly it is for the Committee to decide as to whether enthusiasm or regard for finance shall determine our attitude to that. I agree with Mr. Hambro in thinking that our regard for feminine enthusiasm may very well land us into bankruptcy one day. I should like to make it perfectly clear that I do not see, even considering the growth which has taken place in the work of the Opium Section and the fact that there is to be a conference next year, why such additional expenditure should be necessary or why such additional assistance as may be required cannot be provided on a temporary basis. Therefore I am afraid that when the time comes I shall have to vote against the proposal.

ANNEX XI.—Speech by Sir Zulfiqar Ali Khan in the Fifth Committee on Opium on the 23rd September 1930.

I think that it is undeniable that the Fifth Committee of the last Assembly had hopes of progress beyond what has been realised in the last 12 months in regard to the limitation of the manufacture of drugs. So far as my country is concerned, limitation cannot come too soon or be too effective. We suffer greatly from illicit imports in spite of energetic preventive measures, and, with the possible exception of Egypt, I do not know of any country in which the menace of manufactured drugs is greater than it is in India. We ourselves believe, and we hope that no one will question our belief, that we have already made sacrifices in connection with the export of opium which deserve responsive action from the Governments of the countries in which drugs are manufactured.

The efforts of the Government of India in regard to opium have been fully described in this Committee before, and I will only remind you of a few leading facts. The acreage under cultivation in British India has been reduced from about 614,000 acres in 1905 to 42,000 in 1929, and the acreage in the Indian States from about 146,000 acres in 1905 to 36,810 in 1928. Consumption in British India has fallen from 1,031,040 lbs. in 1910 to 560,605 lbs. in 1928. The consumption per head in British India was 27 grains in 1895 and in 1928 it was less than 16 grains. In 1926 we began to reduce our exports of opium to Eastern countries by 10 per cent a year, and after 1935 no opium will be exported from India except for legitimate manufacture into drugs required for medical and scientific purposes. It is now a long time since exports to China ceased completely. So much for the discharge of our international obligations. We are also dealing with certain internal problems which still await solution, but as these are rather of domestic concern I shall not detain the Committee with further particulars.

Having done all this in regard to opium we are constantly hoping for protection against the illicit traffic in manufactured drugs which threatens us from outside. This protection can only come if the manufacturing countries take practical measures to discharge effectively the obligations which they have undertaken and we are disappointed at the delay which has already occurred. We ourselves are ready to fall in with any plan for limitation, provided only that it is practical and effective. It is evident that the Assembly of last year was too optimistic when it hoped that a plan for limitation might be drawn up and agreed to within 12 months, and we are now, perhaps, suffering from a reaction. Nevertheless, we must recognise that the foundations have been soundly laid and we must not allow impatience to interfere with the preparatory work which is essential to the success desired by all of us. Let us, therefore, follow the path which the Advisory Committee has indicated to us, turning neither to the right nor to the left until we reach our goal.

There is a factor not to be overlooked, which has come into prominence since last year, and which threatens to undermine any arrangements that may be come to for the limitation of manufacture among the Governments of the countries which are represented here. That factor is the development of manufacture in countries which are not members of the League, and which are not parties to our decisions. It is one of the most difficult and troublesome features of the drug problem, that the tightening up of control in some countries tends to drive the evil further afield, and that is exactly what has been lately happening. As the Advisory Committee has pointed out, the manufacture of heroin has recently been started on a large scale in Turkey. Within the last year, and even within the last few days, we have heard of large seizures of heroin manufactured in Turkey, some of which was apparently intended for a destination in India. The quantities now being produced in Turkey are already very large and are capable of indefinite expansion, and they are bound to pass almost entirely into the illicit traffic. We have no occasion at present to reproach our friends in Turkey, for we must recognise that the problem is one of recent development and is the result of restrictions properly imposed outside Turkey. It would be interesting to hear the views of my colleagues on the question whether we should address a most earnest appeal for co-operation to the Turkish authorities. I should hope that they should realise that by co-operation with the League they can nip in the bud a development which will otherwise do infinite harm to the good name of Turkey.

The principal aim of our work in this field at the moment must be the conclusion of an agreement for the limitation of the manufacture of drugs. But until and even after this agreement is concluded and in force, we must not relax our efforts in other directions. In the first place I support the statement of the delegate for Holland that limitation of manufacture alone will not be enough. We shall also rely upon and must maintain in full vigour the machinery of the Geneva Convention. I should also like to call attention to the observations of the Advisory Committee on page 8 of the Report of their last session as to the importance of centralised police work in each country and that international co-operation between the national police services. Notable success has been achieved on these lines in the case of Egypt. The Government of India have lately caused an enquiry to be conducted as to the advantages and methods of centralised police activity in regard to the illicit traffic. In the course of this enquiry much important information has been collected and the Government of India hope shortly to create a Central Information Bureau for the illicit traffic in drugs.

My Government is at the moment approaching the Japanese Government with a suggestion that the police officer responsible for the inquiry to which I have alluded should visit Japan with the object of conferring with the Japanese authorities and of arranging for more effective co-operation. If the Japanese Government is prepared to fall in with our wishes in this matter, I am sure that we shall make progress with a problem which is of serious concern to both countries.

Members of the Fifth Committee will have noted on page 5 of the Report of the Advisory Committee that seizures of illicit cocaine in India and other places in the Far East have borne labels in some cases of firms licensed to manufacture drugs by the Japanese Government, and in other cases of brands of which the origin is unknown, but which we must at present presume to be Japanese. I am bound to express the dissatisfaction of my Government that firms whose products have been frequently found in the illicit traffic are still licensed to manufacture and that after all these years the sources of the other brands, of which the names are stated in the Report should still remain a mystery. At this point I should like to refer to the recent report of a discovery in Italy of a stock of forged labels, and I should be glad if our Italian colleague could throw any further light on this discovery.

The Advisory Committee has pointed out on page 4 of its Report that there is a very large amount of cocaine produced in Japan, over and above the legitimate exports and the probable internal consumption. The Japanese Government have not so far supplied us with an authoritative figure for legitimate internal consumption. Until we have this figure which surely cannot be very difficult to produce we are clearly justified in having grave suspicions as to the destination of the bulk of the cocaine manufactured in Japan, and we have no means of estimating the sufficiency of the decision to reduce the manufacture of cocaine by 10 per cent for four years, which was announced by the Japanese representative in this Committee last year.

These are points which require the most careful attention, and I earnestly appeal to my Japanese colleague to represent as strongly as he can to his Government at home the necessity for early and effective action. Such action seems to us to be already overdue, as the measures which we expect the Japanese Government to take are only measures falling within the obligations which they have already undertaken under the Geneva Opium Convention of 1925. Our Japanese colleague has alluded to the new regulations which his Government has issued. We have examined these and agree that in comparison with the old regulations they provide for a stricter degree of control. But everything depends on the spirit in which they are applied.

The Council of the League at its last session decided to increase the size of the Advisory Committee from 14 to 21 members. We appreciate the desire of other countries to be represented and we take the claims for increased representation as evidence of increasing interest in the problem and of increasing determination to solve it. At the same time we should have been glad, for the sake of efficiency, if the Committee could have been kept within more manageable proportions. When the mandate of the new Committee expires in three years' time the phase of activity upon which we are now engaged will we hope, have been successfully concluded and it will then perhaps be possible to restore the Advisory Committee to a more reasonable size. In establishing and giving publicity to the facts on the subject of the traffic and in recommending sound and practical measures of control, the Advisory Committee has so far done excellent work and has acquired a reputation as high as that of any of the other Standing Committees of the League. If that work has not yet produced its full fruits the fault lies with the Governments rather than with the Committee. I shall finish my remarks by expressing the hope that the Committee will continue to enjoy our confidence.

ANNEX XII.—Speech by Mr. Croft in the Fifth Committee on Opium and other Dangerous Drugs on the 26th September 1930.

As the delegate for India is detained this afternoon at a meeting of a Sub-Committee of the Sixth Committee, it falls to me to say a few words on behalf of the Indian Delegation. The Indian Delegation stands for nothing except limitation as rapidly and effectively as possible. We are opposed to the idea of a Third Conference in 1932 simply because of delay. We are opposed to the idea of a general Conference in May 1931, because it is inconsistent with the decision of the Assembly last year, because we believe that it would be less effective than a limited Conference, and also because of the budgetary difficulties raised. I would venture to put forward a slight modification of any suggestion made so far, and one which, as far as I am able to see, would meet the requirements of everybody. My suggestion is that the limited Conference in May should be held in accordance with the decision of the Assembly last year, that it should draw up a Convention for the limitation of manufacture of drugs, that this Convention should not be immediately open to signature, but that it should be brought up in the Assembly next year, when, if necessary, it could be discussed again. We very much hope that the limited Conference will have done the work so well as to make elaborate discussion at the Assembly unnecessary, but if it is necessary that discussion can take place and the views of the countries not represented at the limited Conference can be expressed. The Assembly would in effect take the place of a Third Conference, without any difficulties of a budgetary nature, and that in fact, would be the earliest date at which discussion of the subject could take place.

ANNEX XIII.—Speech by Sir D. P. Sarbadhikary in the Fifth Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children on the 20th September 1930.

I should be wanting in the discharge of my duty if in spite of the lateness of the hour, I did not add India's full meed of praise and appreciation of the excellent work done by the Committee and for the spirit of moderation and of hastening slowly, if one might so call it, which has animated the efforts of that Committee as evidenced in its excellent report.

I would like to associate myself with what has fallen from the delegate of Japan regarding the necessity of surveying and appraising a difficult and delicate question like this in view of the peculiar circumstances and the atmosphere of the countries concerned. I have noticed that India is for the moment excluded from the purview of the travelling Commission, whose activities will be confined for the present to the Near East, where I suggest the question of dowries should be examined. When, as I hope it will, the Commission comes sooner or later to India I hope we shall have a fairly clean record to present. I

should like to refer to something which struck me very much about the backwardness of the Danish Penal Code that prevented earlier ratification of the Convention. Although the Indian Penal Code is more than 70 years old the Government of India had no difficulty in ratifying the Convention immediately. That was due partly to the tradition we have behind us. The sexual moral code of both Hindu and Moslem is very stern and it was possible for the Government of India to take a leaf out of that code.

You may not be aware that what is known as the purdah, the system of veiling, which was not utterly unknown in Europe, was introduced in order to uphold and inculcate respect for women, and it is now relaxing.

With regard to the question of the traffic in women and children, speaking from the international point of view, the traffic in foreign women is practically non-existent in India. When the war broke out all alien women taking part in this nefarious life were cleared out and since then we have had a fairly clean slate. Such foreign women as there are have still been isolated in detached spots, where their doings may be closely watched. I am unable to imitate the eloquence of the lady delegate from Germany, who had the advantage of speaking in her own language and did not suffer from the disabilities of one who has to speak in a difficult foreign tongue. The German delegate referred to the cinema and its effect upon this question from the point of view of purity. I should like to mention it from another point of view. In connection with child welfare we somewhat casually referred to the cinema in this Committee, but here is a larger point of view to be considered. The child of bigger growth requires protection particularly in regard to the cinema. I am aware of cases in which lewd cinema exhibitions have led to awful immorality. And in this as in the case of cocaine, morphine, opium and other noxious drugs you have to tackle the question in the country of origin as well as that of exhibition and see that the poison is not allowed to be spread far and wide.

There is another danger of the cinema which you do not seem to regard as a danger at all. Certain phases of European life exhibited in the movies and now, alas, in the talkies in India would be apt to be regarded as average examples of European life. Such a conviction is a disaster to the relations between European peoples and Indians. A strict censorship of films should be insisted upon, not only in the country of exhibition, but in that of origin. This question is intimately connected with the one that we have before us to-day.

For the information of the Committee, and particularly of the delegate of Lithuania, I should like to add that in the case of unfortunate women who are "rescued," as we call it, India, in spite of her great lack of financial resources, is trying to deal with the question in a way that must prove effectual ultimately. I have the high honour and privilege of presiding over a society—the Refuge—which deals with such questions, and having rescued the women, tries to place them back into ordinary life again. We have been successful in some cases in finding husbands for them, after explaining the circumstances to the prospective bridegroom. Another such society has been named after one of our colleagues—Sir Ewart Gravels, an ex-judge of the High Court of Calcutta. Other organisations, with official and non-official aid, like that of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, the Vigilance Association and the Abalassam, are springing into existence, which are endeavouring to solve the problem by taking steps to place these unfortunate women into normal society again.

I am glad to say that the question of the licensed house does not trouble India any longer. With the abolition of the Contagious Diseases Act, which had been necessitated, it is said, owing to military reasons, the question practically ceased to exist. Further information on this point is available if the Committee should require it.

I refer to one other matter with a certain amount of hesitation, because I am not fully aware of the facts. So-called marriage laws in certain communities which permit of a state of affairs which takes the place of marriage, but is only a sort of glorified prostitution, have to be carefully examined. In dealing with that matter you have to consider local susceptibilities and be careful not to interfere with the customs of the country. But care should also be taken in investigating this problem to go to the root of it and to see that prostitution is not allowed to prosper in the name of social customs and that women are not driven to base life for the purpose of earning dowries abroad and getting settled in married life later.

In the difficult and delicate task that lies before the Committee we wish it Godspeed and hope that a method may be elaborated by which social purity, physical welfare and spiritual uplift of the world may be ensured.

ANNEX XIV.—*Speech by Sir D. P. Sarvadikary on Penal Administration in the Fifth Committee on the 18th September 1930.*

It pains me that I should have to begin with a seeming disobedience of expressed wishes from the Chair, and I hope it will not be put down to rudeness on the part of an uninstructed and undisciplined man from the East. We congratulate ourselves that this Committee is presided over by a woman, and it is essentially and pre-eminently a woman's concern to deal with humanitarian questions such as will come before this Committee, questions that have so long escaped the attention of the mere man (then a voice from the corner questioning)—I hear the question from another part of the room but I shall not be foolhardy enough to stay and answer him. If there be a man who has the woman's virtue of taking the other fellow's point of view into consideration I honour and welcome him, but I repeat that questions like those that will come before the Committee, questions of the form of penal administration, of child welfare, of putting a stop to the terrific traffic in women and finally of improving the administration of opium and drugs, questions which affect very large interests in the world, should be presided over by a woman.

The Chairman asked us to keep to the points of the questions before the Committee. This is one of my points and I hope I have not wasted the time of the Committee in drawing attention to it. There is a further point of a similar nature, that a woman, Miss Susan Lawrence, of the British Delegation, is making herself responsible for the resolution now before the Committee. I welcome this because, as befits the sex that is pre-eminently tractable and reconcilable when a reasonable point of view is put before it, Miss Susan Lawrence has been good enough to see some of my points of view regarding matters about which Miss Lawrence spoke and has agreed to a draft which will now be free from all objections that might be attributable to it. Although the Government of India is one of the members of the International Prison Commission, it has not had opportunities of considering the resolution now before

us, and the shortness of time between circulation of the draft and now has made it impossible for the Indian Delegation to obtain instructions either from India or the India Office regarding it. It would, therefore, be difficult for me to commit my Government to the acceptance of the resolution as it stood, in so far as it recommended the rules to the attention of the Governments; the shape in which it will now go through is free from the objections that I had in mind and the resolution will go forward to Government for consideration and report.

The prison improvement question has had attention in India for a long time. In common with other people we have been anxious for improvement in prison administration. The question may be regarded as purely national and the concern of the Governments affected by the question. There may, however, be aspects which make it more than national, and if violence is done to humanitarian principles, international principles must certainly prevail. How far that is the case in any individual country will, I suppose, be considered when we have passed the stage of collection of information which is the objective of this resolution. The association of the resolution with the Howard Society makes one naturally think that the international aspects are the real objective, as would indeed be the case regarding anything that the League takes up. The difficulties in the way having been removed, the resolution is now free from the objections that I contemplated.

The Government of India has been concerning itself, as I have said, for a long time regarding the question of the improvement of prison administration. It may not be generally known here that Sir James Du Boulay, an important member of the Indian Civil Service, some time ago investigated the question both in India and abroad, and numerous suggestions and recommendations have been made, many of which are awaiting acceptance, which has been delayed owing to financial and other reasons. In recent times political exigencies have made the Government think of important improvements and these have been made for the treatment of what are known as "A" class and "B" class prisoners, which, to a certain extent, have mitigated prevailing hardships. We, the people of India, feel that further reforms are overdue, and should come as soon as possible, but that is not the matter that concerns the League, nor that can reasonably come under the terms of the resolution which we are now discussing. We have had reforms in juvenile jails and jails for the detention of women. We have had reforms in the civil side of the jail and various other important developments have taken place which, when the information is forthcoming, will no doubt be duly placed before the League. For the moment, however, those are not within the purview of this Committee and the Committee will probably find no difficulty in accepting the resolution of Miss Lawrence.

I accept the draft resolution on the clear understanding stated by Miss Lawrence that it implies nothing beyond the collection of further information, and owing to the shortness of time I cannot accept any obligations on the part of the Government of India.

